

**FBIS**

# DAILY REPORT

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*Eastern Europe*

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MLADENOV TO VISIT SOVIET UNION IN EARLY MARCH

AU241945 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Sofia, 24 Feb (BTA) -- Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, will pay a visit to the Soviet Union in the early days of March, 1982.

TURKEY'S EVREN BEGINS TALKS WITH ZHIVKOV 24 FEB

AU242017 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Sofia, 24 Feb (BTA) -- The head of state of Turkey, Army General Kenan Evren, met this afternoon the president of the State Council of Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov. The two leaders assessed positively the relations and cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey. Emphasizing the positive development of the economic relations, they paid special attention to the possibilities for their furthering. Mr Todor Zhivkov and General Kenan Evren noted that good possibilities have been revealed for industrial joint production, for joint appearance on third markets, for expanding cooperation in trade, transport, agriculture, science and tourism. The two leaders pointed out the ascending development of cultural cooperation. Some other questions of mutual interest were also discussed. In the exchange of views on the international issues special attention was paid to the situation in Europe.

The official talks between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Army General Kenan Evren started after the meeting. In the course of the talks bilateral relations and some topical international questions have been discussed. The constructive spirit of the talks and their sincere atmosphere give grounds to maintain that they will encourage the expansion of Bulgaro-Turkish cooperation, the consolidation of peace and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and the world.

On the Bulgarian side present at the talks were: Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov, head of Mr Todor Zhivkov's office Milko Balev, Vice-President of the State Council Mitko Grigorov, Minister of Transport Vasil Tsanov, First Deputy-Minister of Foreign Trade Atanas Ginev, Deputy-Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Culture Milen Marinov. On the Turkish side present were: Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen, Assistant General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Erdem Erner), Assistant General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Oktai Iscen), head of the State Office (Usken Dincmen), and other officials accompanying General Evren.

At 20.00 hrs local time started the official dinner at which Mr Todor Zhivkov and General Kenan Evren will propose toasts.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 24 February carries the same item and adds: "On 24 February Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, awarded the Turkish head of state, Kenan Evren, the Stara Planina Order With Ribbon, which the State Council has conferred on him on his official visit to Bulgaria"]

Official Dinner Held

AU242026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] On 24 February Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, gave an official dinner in honor of Turkey's head of state Army Gen Kenan Evren. The dinner was attended by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov and Milko Balev; Georgi Dzhagarov, Mitko Grigorov and Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairmen of the State Council; Grigor Stoichkov, Kiril Zarev and Stanish Bonev, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; State Council members and members of the government. The officials accompanying General Evren, as well as Vladimir Gruncharov and Yildirim Keskin, the two countries' ambassadors, also attended the dinner.

During the dinner the two heads of state proposed toasts, which were heard with great attention and greeted with applause.



U.N. ENVOY FAIRBANKS' MIDEAST TRIP VIEWED

AU241431 Sofia BTA in English 1342 GMT 24 Feb 82

["The Threads of the Shuttle" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Feb (BTA) -- Under this headline today's NARODNA MLADEZH carries a signed article making an analysis of the reasons for the Middle East visit of the new U.S. "shuttle" -- the special envoy Richard Fairbanks.

The author stresses that "in Fairbanks' mission the observer should see nothing more than the next in a series U.S. effort to save, at least partially, the political investments made in the Camp David deal." He points out that this is also confirmed by the malconcealed nervousness of Washington, caused by both the approaching term for Israel's definite withdrawal from the Sinai and by the still more manifested desire of the new Egyptian Government to have, irrespective of their official declarations, their own opinion on some matters.

According to the author, the next in succession military hysteria now seizing Israel is very much like the situation of last year's June-July. Then Philip Habib headed for the Middle East at a moment when Israel was getting ready for a wide-scale operation on her northern neighbour. The author stresses: "The preparations for a new aggressive operation on the part of Israel are on. There is no doubt where it will be pointed to -- Lebanon." He is of the opinion that the aggression will hardly be restricted to that zone alone. The commentator says: "If Washington's blessing to the new planned act of Israeli militarism is hidden in the U.S. emissary's briefcase, then the suspense will not stay long."

CHINESE SUPPORT FOR AFGHAN REBELS ASSESSED

AU241429 Sofia BTA in English 1338 GMT 24 Feb 82

[BTA observer Todor Stoyanov commentary: "Fire Is Not Only Smoke"]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Feb (BTA) -- China has officially admitted that she is rendering support to the Afghan counterrevolutionary gangs on the territory of Pakistan. What a belated acknowledgement does is stirring laughter: Chinese participation in "the undeclared war" against Kabul was a public secret. Hypocrisy, however, is part of China's political behaviour. These days a high-ranking officials' delegation arrived to Islamabad and immediately departed for Peshawar -- the white gangs' center. The itinerary speaks of its visit's aim.

Both under Mao and Deng, China was loyal to her line: to fan up every anti-Soviet-oriented hotbed which is to the detriment of the peoples' liberation movement. In the passed years, Beijing has written down shameful pages in its policy -- beginning from its flirt with Pinochet and ending up with the Washington-Islamabad-Cairo union for joint moves against the Afghan revolution. In Asia, Africa and Europe, everywhere she can, China is playing the part of a collective provocator of straining tension and of deteriorating the international climate. She serves ever more ardently to the most reactionary thesis of our time: the creation of anti-Soviet formation. A lover of fire, China forgets that fire is not smol alone, especially in our time.

TRADING PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH SWITZERLAND

AU241638 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] On 24 February in Sofia the fourth session of the Joint Bulgarian-Swiss Commission, created on the basis of the bilateral agreement on economic relations, ended. A protocol on the session's work was signed at the Ministry of Foreign Trade. It reviews the two countries' trade and economic relations and notes the prospects for further Bulgarian-Swiss cooperation. The protocol was signed by the two countries' deputy ministers of foreign trade, Georgi Pirinski and Dr Benedict von (Charner).

DYULGEROV COMMENTS ON WFTU CONGRESS, POLAND

AU221759 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Feb 82 p 1

[Interview given by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council, to the daily TRUD on his impressions of the 10th WFTU Congress in Havana -- date, place not given]

[Excerpts] After the end of the 10th WFTU Congress, a representative of the daily TRUD met Comrade Petur Dyulgerov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and asked him to answer the following questions?

Question: Comrade Dyulgerov, it is known that this congress was the most representative forum of the WFTU on a worldwide scale. An unprecedented number of delegations from nearly all countries of the world attended it. How do you explain this tremendous interest in the Havana congress?

Answer: People throughout the world are concerned about the situation. The extent of political tension in the world and the actions of imperialism, especially of the Reagan administration, have drastically increased. Peace and the destinies of mankind are being jeopardized in a brutal and adventurous fashion. A new arms race is being provoked, exploitation is growing, living conditions are deteriorating, a militant anti-Sovietism and anticommunism is expanding. The peoples struggling for their national and social liberation are subjected to oppression and to the most insolent "diktat."

Can the workers class remain indifferent and passive in the face of such a policy?

It is precisely the will for resistance, the feeling of approaching danger, the reaction to growing burdens resulting from this policy that are the main reason for the unprecedentedly large number of delegates attending this congress held in Havana and the chief reason for the tremendous interest displayed in it. The fact that these feelings and motivations were expressed in such an impressive manner at a congress organized by the WFTU once more confirmed the great prestige of this organization, which is the only one in the international trade union movement that consistently and uncompromisingly protects the basic and vital interests of working people in all countries and that deals with the most crucial problems of our time.

Question: In what spirit were the debates held?

Answer: A total of 136 countries from all continents, 81 WFTU member-organizations, as well as a total of 358 trade union centers rallying 269 million of working people were represented at this forum. Of course, such a large number of delegates includes the participation of various forces which differ from each other as regards their philosophical, political and religious views and, hence, we can naturally expect differences in their opinions and stands. Nevertheless, the wish to stress the ideas uniting us was demonstrated at the congress with particular emphasis and this determined the comprehensive character of the congress as a whole. The discussion at the congress was conducted in a constructive spirit and with a lofty sense of responsibility. The readiness for joint actions was unmistakably expressed.

We all know about the intensified propaganda activities expanding in the capitalist countries in connection with Poland. We know about the misinformation with which the bourgeois propaganda machine is literally overwhelming each individual citizen in the Western countries. This gave us reason to expect that the Polish events, and the present state of trade unions in that country in particular, would cause the congress to deviate from working on its basic issues.

Things turned out differently, however, the majority of the delegates, basing themselves on correct class stands, supported the Polish people's efforts to overcome the crisis and to build up united trade unions in Poland that are loyal to socialism. Under these circumstances, certain delegations that took stands diverging from the general line remained absolutely isolated and did not exert any influence upon the generally constructive spirit of the congress.

#### DIMITROV CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS SCHEDULED

AU250920 Sofia BTA in English 0842 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Sofia, 25 Feb (BTA) -- This year on June 18 Bulgaria will celebrate the centenary of the birth of the great son of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov. On the day of the centenary a solemn anniversary session will be held, to which will be invited also representatives of communist, workers' and democratic parties and movements, participants in the international theoretical conference "The Deed of Georgi Dimitrov and the World Today." The conference itself will be held June 15 through 17. About 50 foreign guests will be invited to a scientific session on the centenary, due to be held in May this year. The Dimitrov scholars in Bulgaria and abroad will discuss at a "round table" their achievements in the researches into the life and work of Georgi Dimitrov.

There will also be several international symposia and meetings, which will review the following subjects: "Georgi Dimitrov in Defence of World Peace," "Georgi Dimitrov and the Movement for Friendship with the Soviet Union," "The Struggle of Georgi Dimitrov Against Fascism and Capitalism," etc. The National Council of the Fatherland Front will organize a seminar with workers from various national fronts and progressive movements from the developing countries, dedicated to the ideas of Dimitrov for uniform front and the building of socialism. Many progressive and democratic youth organizations from abroad will take part in the international youth meeting, whose organizer will be the Dimitrov Young Communists' League. The two-year conversation on the subject "I Am Proud That I Am a Son of the Working Class" organized on the initiative of the trade unions will end this year. For the members of the "Septemvriyche" Dimitrov Young Pioneers' Organization the year of the anniversary will pass under the sign of the Dimitrov review "Always Ready". On the eve of the anniversary the best pupils will assemble at a national meeting of young pioneers.

A new monument of Georgi Dimitrov will be opened in the town of Pernik. The national "Georgi Dimitrov" museum will organize a conference with the participation of museum workers from the socialist countries on the theme, "The Struggle Against Fascism and the War, for Peace, Democracy and Socialism as Reflected in Museums."

#### NEW FUEL REGULATIONS ISSUED FOR FOREIGN AUTOS

AU241616 Sofia BTA in English 1500 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Sofia, 24 Feb (BTA) -- As from March the first cars and other vehicles of foreign physical and juridical persons will be supplied with oil products in Bulgaria only for special coupons. The Ministerial Council decree fixes also the prices of coupons in convertible currency. One litre of super - 96 octane - 0.75 USA dollars, super - 93 octane - 0.65 USA dollars, normal - 86 octane - 0.60 USA dollars, diesel fuel - 0.55 USA dollars. For vehicles of the countries with which Bulgaria uses transferable roubles, the coupons will be sold according to currency prices, formed under the course of exchange for non-commercial payments, on the base of retail prices in levas. The price of the coupons for diesel fuel will be formed on the base of 0.50 leva per one litre, transferred into respective currency under the course of exchange for non-commercial payments. The sale of oil products for vehicles of the diplomatic corps will be carried out as before.

EEC DECISION TO RESTRICT SOVIET IMPORTS VIEWED

LD241728 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Yesterday's decision by the foreign ministers of the European Economic Community to restrict imports from the Soviet Union under the pretext of the events in Poland is described by Radio Prague's news analyst, (Marcela Borickova), as more than submission to United States pressure for, she says, the West European governments want to cut down imports of Soviet motor cars, cameras, carpets and other industrial products but not even a hint is made of the huge imports of Soviet petroleum, natural gas or other raw material.

Trade is, of course, a two way affair, says (Borickova), and the Soviet Union can hardly be expected to acquiesce to the barriers being raised to block its exports, especially since these barriers are highly selective in character. Western Europe is unable to cope with Japanese competition and has a considerable deficit in its trade with the United States, and Soviet motor cars, for example, are making inroads on the West European car market. And so the EEC foreign ministers have decided to kill two birds with a single shot, namely get rid of competition and at the same time demonstrate to the Reagan administration that they are compliant members of the North Atlantic alliance. In exchange it seems that Washington has tacitly accepted the West European determination to go ahead with imports of Soviet natural gas as long as its allies on the other side of the Atlantic give in at least partially to its pressure.

However, the nine members of the EEC -- since Greece has obviously not caved in -- should not forget that the law of action and reaction applies not only to physics but to trade as well.

VACLAV DOLEZAL ON RETURN OF CSSR GOLD

AU241241 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Feb 82 p 2

[Vaclav Dolezal article: "A Matter of Our National Honor; On the Return of Czechoslovak Currency Gold" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] AS WE HAVE ALREADY REPORTED, A TRIPARTITE COMMISSION CONSISTING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE RETURNED TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA 18.4 TONS OF CURRENCY RESERVE GOLD WHICH HITLERITE GERMANY HAD STOLEN FROM US. THE GOLD WAS RETURNED ON THE BASIS OF A DECISION MADE BY THE TRIPARTITE COMMISSION, WHICH CONVENED ON 20 FEBRUARY 1982 IN ZURICH. THE PREREQUISITES FOR THIS DECISION WERE ESTABLISHED BY THE AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN PRAGUE ON 29 JANUARY 1982 BETWEEN THE CSSR GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND. **THUS, 37 YEARS AFTER THE END OF THE WAR, ONE OF THE LONGEST-LASTING PROBLEMS FOR OUR PEOPLE WHICH HAD FOLLOWED FROM THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE HUMILIATING MUNICH, OF THE WAR AND THE FASCIST OCCUPATION, WAS RESOLVED.**

The more than 18 tons of Czechoslovak currency reserve gold, which are returning after decades to the hands of their only legitimate owner -- the Czechoslovak people -- represent about \$250 million, in current prices. This gold will serve to strengthen our currency reserves.

At the 16th CPCZ Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak stressed in connection with the matter of the withheld Czechoslovak currency reserve gold: "IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO HAGGLE ABOUT THIS NATIONAL PROPERTY OF OURS, OR TO BLACKMAIL US OVER IT. THE FACT THAT FOR 36 YEARS IT HAS BEEN LYING UNAUTHORIZED IN FOREIGN HANDS, THAT IT HAS BEEN ILLEGALLY WITHHELD BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, THIS FACT CONCERNS OUR NATIONAL HONOR."

This chapter is now being closed. It is being closed in harmony with the interests of the Czechoslovak people.



FRG INTELLIGENCE NETWORK WITH POLAND DESCRIBED

AU241437 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Feb 82 p 3

[Karel Ryba article: "Certain House in Munich and a Branched-Out Family"]

[Text] Among the numerous high-rise buildings in the Bavarian capital, Munich, housing in their glassed-in space numerous offices of the federal, land, city and economic bureaucracy the building number 59 on Elsenheim Street in Munich's 21st district looks no different from all the others. At the entrance we can read on the nameplate that, among other tenants, on the top floor there are the offices of the fourth section of the Cologne-on-the-Rhine-based federal administration office, specifically: the Office for Foreign Payments.

Day after day, a good-looking 53-year-old man, Dr Diethelm Keil, comes here to work. He does not devote himself to foreign payments, however, but to a more interesting activity. Under the cover name of the office, belonging to the boundless federal German bureaucracy, is hidden something that works covertly in general, in this case the "emigration" section of the federal intelligence agency BND [Bundesnachrichtendienst], and also Dr Keil (BND No 40,491), who uses the aliases Dr Wernberg or Dr Klein; the names may vary, but they are always prefixed with the title doctor.

In his files we would find more than one name of our fellow countrymen, but the cards that have been pulled out most often in recent years bear the names of Polish emigrants in Britain, Italy, Canada, the FRG and overseas in North and South America. Such institutions as the "Study Group for East Europe" or the press service "DEMOCRATIC CONSERVATIVE CORRESPONDENCE," in both cases located in Munich, have been established to maintain contacts with them.

Of course, Dr Keil does not do all this on his own. His colleagues who acquire agents for him and then run them are Dr Hans-Peter Stein, cover name Dr Rissmann; Hans-Wilhelm Pape (Herzberg); Manfred Liebsch (Schleusner); Elisabeth Steck (Stroessner); Gisela Muenschner (Schlichtling); Dr Juergen Jensen (Dr Jester); Ruth Windisch (Waldenberg); Othmar Starzyk (Hoehne) and others.

Dr Keil and the ranking personnel of other BND bureaus, who are engaged in activities directed against the socialist countries, have in their files numerous directives and instructions, entrusting them with "further expanding the potential of the sources for political espionage activity in the states of the Soviet bloc and exerting the influence of emigrants and dissidents on the countries of their origin and on the Western states' ostpolitik," "drawing together anticommunist forces in the Polish People's Republic" and "fanning and kindling anti-Soviet feelings."

The BND is not a penny-pinching organization and its employees and agents cannot complain that their work is not appreciated in Deutsche marks. But for its money the BND demands a proper return. The extent of the BND's activities is broad; any little path that could lead closer to the project pursued comes in handy, even though it might seem lengthy and tortuous. Among the leading workers is Maciej M. Feldhuzen, cover name Mac, service No 62,187, Polish emigrant, journalist, deputy chairman of the foreign press club in Rio de Janeiro, South American correspondent of the London emigre publication DZIENNIK POLSKI. In faraway Brazil, he has built up a network of BND workers. In this way employees of Polish origin of the international IBM concern during their journeys to Poland have been acquiring information about the situation, about their counterparts in negotiations. At the same time they are trying through these persons to infiltrate the circle of Polish representative [zastupitelske] offices and acquire information from that source. Feldhuzen, cover name Mac, is run by Keil's colleague, Muenschner (cover name Schlichtling), who -- for example -- sent him Dm12,120 on 31 January 1977 as encouragement.



Agent "Mac" helped the BND to acquire another Polish emigrant, Wierzbilski, the cashier of the Polish scientific institute in the United States and a CIA agent. Wierzbilski received the cover name "Bolek" and "Christopher," and in addition to information about Polish emigrants he was also supplying information about American policy vis-a-vis the East. Thus both the CIA and the BND benefited from this contact with antisocialist elements active in Poland, and this espionage bigamy apparently did not bother either of the agencies. "Bolek" has contacts with Oxford University Professor Leszek Kolakowski. Kolakowski is a well-known renegade and plays the role of "Marxist" critic of socialism, in order to deceive trusting persons from the left-leaning circles who, although in favor of socialism, would like to have some sort of "better" form of it.

Of course, the BND cannot leave out Rome; its agent there is Witold Lech-Zahorski, cover name "Berger," service No 62,183, correspondent of Radio Free Europe, Polish emigre publications in London and the United States and a functionary of emigre organizations. His task is to acquire information and souls, above all, from the circles of Polish emigrants, the clergy and the Vatican circuit. He casts his nets among Polish visitors to Rome, pilgrims and churchmen. He already has more than 10 informers entered in BDN files. He also is in contact with Prof Kolakowski and another Polish emigre scientist, Prof Jerzy Lerski of San Francisco, who -- by the way -- also took care of the mass distribution of KOR's Adam Michnik's antisocialist pamphlets in the West.

Obviously, the BND cannot be without contacts in Paris either. Radio Free Europe correspondents Marian Czarnecki (cover name Schwarz) and Jerzy Jankowski (cover name Morawiec) are regarded by the BND emigration section as valuable workers, whose reports are reliable.

London, the traditional Polish emigrant center and the seat of the so-called "Polish Government in Exile," is also in the sphere of the BND's activity. Tadeusz Gregory Horko, cover name Hobel, and at the same a British agent, had been establishing an agents' network there for many years. He died recently, but he left behind not only a built-up network of agents and informers, but also a widow, a British noblewoman, sociologist and member of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, who has also taken over this part of the legacy.

The BND is not alone in its work. Attached to the American Consulate in Munich is the "office of coordinator and adviser," exposed as the workplace of the CIA resident in Munich. From here a close contact leads to "Radio Free Europe," from which Zygmunt Michalewski, the head of the radio's Polish desk, supplies reports to his American bread-providers and where he receives their instructions. The activity of the American and West German agencies is coordinated. Of course, there is "work rivalry," but the goal is identical. The BND headquarters in Pullach also organizes and directs further activities, gives instructions to other agents -- journalists of the Springer press, whose task is to disinform the public, various people with contacts in Poland, personnel of various "scientific" and "research" institutes, who with their "research" are covering up the real activity and true goals, who are winning over souls, ensuring the unstable, and disorienting the naive for one goal only.

After years of intensive preparations they have lived through a year and half of euphoria. Now the time of depression is here, and the day of reckoning will come, which will not be pleasant for the BND network of agents and their chiefs. They have not accomplished their objective.

#### BILAK, FOJTIK MEET WITH SOVIET MEDIA OFFICIALS

LD250034 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee secretary and Presidium member, and Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, met at Central Committee headquarters today with Sergey Lapin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

In a cordial and comradely discussion they discussed common topical issues on the further development of successful cooperation between the television and radio of the two fraternal socialist countries.

Otto Cmolik, director of a CPCZ Central Committee department; Jan Zelenka, director general of Czechoslovak Television; and Jan Risko, director general of Czechoslovak Radio, took part in the meeting.

#### STROUGAL RECEIVES BURMESE INDUSTRY MINISTER

LD250012 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Prague, 24 Feb (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here Wednesday visiting Burmese Industry Minister U Maung Cho. Lubomir Strougal appreciated the results achieved in the development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Burma and expressed interest in its further extension. During their talks the two statesmen pointed out that there are possibilities for cooperation mainly in the economic sphere, and that Czechoslovakia can not only at present but also in the future take part in the realization of the four-year plan of industrialization of Burma. They spoke about ways of increasing the bilateral exchange of goods in which the two countries were interested. Present were Czechoslovak First Deputy Minister of General Engineering Josef Voracek, and Burmese Ambassador to Czechoslovakia U Hla Swe.

#### LEADERS GREET KUWAITI OFFICIALS ON NATIONAL DAY

LD250034 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] President of the Republic Gustav Husak has sent a congratulatory telegram to the amir of the State of Kuwait, Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, on the occasion of his country's national day. Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal congratulated Kuwaiti Prime Minister Sa'd al-'Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah on the same occasion. Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek sent a congratulatory telegram to Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah.

#### DZUR ISSUES ORDER ON FEBRUARY ANNIVERSARY

LD241520 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, has issued an order on the 34th anniversary of the victory of the Czechoslovak working people. The order says that the takeover of political power by the working class was also a significant watershed in the development of the Czechoslovak People's Army. A firm ideological conviction and loyalty of the soldiers to the party and people, combat mastery and the troops' effective weapons and combat technology -- all are the main instruments in their all-round preparedness for the defense of the socialist country. Our People's Army, through its steadfast fulfillment of the tasks laid down for it by the 16th CPCZ Congress, reliably guards and further develops the revolutionary heritage of Victorious February.

#### NEUMANN ASSESSES NATION'S ENERGY SUPPLIES

LD250040 Prague CTK in English 1734 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Prague, 24 Feb (CTK) -- Czechoslovakia will secure the necessary energy and fuel sources for the coming years, but it will be ever more costly to obtain them, Jan Neumann, deputy minister of technical development and investments and chairman of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission, said here Wednesday.

Speaking at a seminar held by the house of the people in the Federal Assembly, he noted that coal now accounts for almost 60 percent of fuel and power consumption. Keeping annual brown coal production at 95 million tonnes requires big investments and transfer of roads and railroads, waterways, villages and towns. In the North Bohemian basin, the main supplier of coal for energy purposes, it is now mined from the depth of 100-150 metres, but in the current decade people and machinery will have to go down to quarries 300-400 metres deep. While 2.5 cubic metres of overburden now have to be removed for each tonne of brown coal mined, at the end of the 1980's the overburden removal will double.

Black coal production will remain roughly at the present level of 27-28 million tonnes annually. In the next few years it will be obtained from the depth of 1,200-1,500 metres in the North Moravian Ostrava-Karvina basin, and new technology and air conditioning equipment are necessary for this.

The energy potential of Czechoslovak rivers is now used at 30 percent, which could be increased to 70 percent with the building of water projects on the Danube and finishing of new sections of the cascades on the River Vah in Central Slovakia and on the Vltava in Bohemia.

Czechoslovakia's own production of oil and natural gas will be developed to the maximum extent. The output of 200,000 tonnes of oil annually is but a fraction of the total consumption of 15-16 million tonnes, but the production of 1,000 million cubic metres of natural gas annually is more significant and makes up about one-eighth of Czechoslovakia's overall requirements. Oil and natural gas imports to Czechoslovakia will remain approximately at the present level.

All the increment in energy production will have to be secured by nuclear power plants which are to supply as many as 15,000 million kilowatts hours in 1989. Nuclear power stations will supply not only energy, but also heat. The first town to receive hot water from the nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice will be Trnava in Central Slovakia.

Czechoslovakia is also involved in the development of a new fast breeder reactor in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovak specialists cooperate with their Soviet partners in research into nuclear synthesis. They are also studying non-traditional ways of obtaining energy, such as thermal pumps and equipment for the utilization of solar energy. Great possibilities are also offered (by the) use of biogas which would save half a million tonnes of standard fuel in Czechoslovakia annually.

#### DAILY URGES CLOSING OF UNPRODUCTIVE PLANTS

AU241516 Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Feb 82 p 1

[L. Pelouchova article: "Wasted Values"]

[Summary] The task of steering the economy toward intensive development accentuates the need to close down small, outdated and scarcely productive production facilities. They tie up many workers and great quantities of raw materials and energy without yielding the necessary effect and thus stand in the way of a more effective development of the national economy.

"Even though the state plan in the Sixth 5-Year Plan included the liquidation of such ineffective production facilities, the intentions had not been quite fulfilled. In 1980, for example, 30 plants were to be closed down, thereby releasing almost 7,000 employees for other branches. However, only 25 production facilities with 2,600 employees were actually closed down. In the past 5-year plan as a whole, 134 ineffective production facilities were closed down. Most of the closings, however, concerned very small facilities, many of which were not even included in the plan. Moreover, they released only an insignificant number of employees for other, important sectors of the national economy."

Therefore, it was necessary to adopt more effective measures for the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The plans must include a binding list of plants and production facilities that will be closed down. In the event of a failure to meet the planned number of employees to be released for other branches, material sanctions will be applied. In implementing the structural changes and redeployment of manpower, it will not be possible to avoid conflicts. However, given the more limited resources, there is no other alternative.

JAKES, OTHERS ATTEND ARTISTS' UNIONS AKTIV 24 FEB

Jakes Address Noted

LD241556 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Excerpts] An all-state aktiv of the representatives of artists' unions is discussing the tasks of economic and social development of Czechoslovakia and the current cultural-political questions. The meeting is taking place in Dobris Castle today.

Comrade Milos Jakes [member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium] spoke at the aktiv about the basic targets of economic and social development. He pointed out the considerable potential of our economy and the high living and cultural standards of our people. He said further development of these standards is directly dependent on achieving a higher effectiveness of the entire national economy.

Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek spoke about the foreign economic relations. He stressed that in the current political and economic situation in the world a more effective participation in the international division of labor and in socialist economic integration is the decisive factor for the further development of the Czechoslovak economy.

Comrades Milos Jakes and Rudolf Rohlicek answered questions from the artists and creative workers present.

Havlin Lauds Unions' Role

LD250040 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Excerpts] An all-state aktiv of the representatives of the artistic unions dealing with the tasks of the economic and social development of Czechoslovakia and current cultural-political questions was held in Dobris Castle today.

Josef Havlin, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, said that our artistic front forms an unreplaceable force in forming socialist awareness in our people, in mobilizing its creative power for the welfare of our socialist homeland. He valued the responsible function of the artists in the struggle for preserving world peace and the significance of cooperation with the creative front of the USSR and the other socialist countries. Comrade Havlin went on saying that the CPCZ deeply appreciates and values the many-sided ideological-creative and organizational activity of artistic unions which significantly contributes to the development of all areas of culture.

HAMAN, HRUSKOVIC ATTEND POWERPLANT WORKERS' AKTIV

LD242350 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Today at an aktiv in Jaslouske Bohunice, workers and representatives of individual Czechoslovak enterprises, which are participating in the construction of the V2 nuclear powerplant, and Soviet experts expressed determination to exert maximum effort to adhere to this year's deadlines and for material fulfillment of the tasks of the plant's construction.



They handed over a joint socialist pledge at the aktiv to Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CPSL Central Committee secretary, and to Josef Haman, CPCZ Central Committee secretary. The pledge concerns the safeguarding of the construction deadlines this year and carrying out the second pressure and tightness test on the V2 nuclear powerplant's first building planned to take place in the middle of November. The first building of the V2 plant is planned to start producing energy at the end of March of next year, depending on the adherence to the tests' deadline.

Josef Haman in his speech at the aktiv stressed the basic importance of electric energy for further development of the national economy. The production of nuclear energy, for which we are building the plant with the help of the USSR, has a growing and irreplaceable role in the production of electric energy.

#### PITRA ADDRESSES OSTRAVA MEETING ON FOOD INDUSTRY

LD241806 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Today in Ostrava, a session of the North Moravia Regional CPCZ Committee was held on the results the North Moravian food industry workers achieved in the Sixth 5-Year Plan in satisfying the needs of the population for basic food stuffs and on the main targets for the food industry in the next period. The participants in the meeting stated that the North Moravian food processing industry -- the second largest among the regions of the Czech Socialist Republic -- fulfilled almost all economic indices in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. They also pointed out some problems and shortcomings. Despite a positive growth in the production of most important food items, industrial production of ready-made and (?semi-ready-made) products has not been fully secured. Reserve was also expressed regarding the observance of technological methods, and the equability and continuity of supplies.

Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, who took part in the session, described the high quality of production in all areas and the maximum possible degree of utilization of raw materials and secondary products as the most important targets for the food processing industry. He said that the introduction of new products should be accelerated, the assortment widened in agreement with consumers' demands and the wishes of society, and the durability and nutritional value of food products improved. He also spoke about the need to further deepen the integration of relations between the food processing industry and agriculture with the aim of improving the quality of agricultural raw material.

#### LENART ATTENDS NITRA AGROCOMPLEX MEETING

LD250048 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Communists at the crop production unit of the agrocomplex economic production unit in Nitra held a meeting of their primary party organization today to discuss their work in the past period and the tasks awaiting them this year. Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, attended the meeting and spoke during the discussion. He stressed the need for speedier application of the findings of science and for the transition to systematic organizational work by applying modern progressive methods, not only through training but mainly by establishing contractual and supplier-consumer relations.

#### AGRICULTURE MINISTER CITED ON 'DIFFICULT PERIOD'

LD240100 Prague CTK in English 2100 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Prague, 23 Feb (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Minister of Agriculture Josef Nagr opened his address to the agriculture committees of the two houses of the Federal Assembly on Tuesday by stressing that this year will be one of the most difficult periods for Czechoslovak agriculture.



He specified that livestock production can be developed in 1982 and the following years only to an extent allowed by domestic resources. This is a great change against the 1970's when the shortfall in grain and other feeds was covered by imports. Josef Nagr said that last year's plan of the purchase of animal products was fulfilled with the exception of milk. However, last year's grain harvest was lower than planned and livestock production has at its disposal by 1.6 million tonnes of grain feeds less than in previous years. It has thus been decided to reduce by 400,000 the number of pigs which are the biggest consumers of grain feeds. The minister went on to say that this year's plan of grain production -- 11 million tonnes -- requires an average per hectare yield of 41.6 tonnes. Grain is grown every year on 51.5 per cent of Czechoslovakia's arable land, the area of which, however, has been diminishing in recent years. Attention must therefore be focused on the development of the breeding of cattle, as they demand less concentrates than pigs.

#### TRADE UNIONISTS IN THE ARMY HOLD CONGRESS

AU231224 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Feb 82 p 2

[CTK report: "Line Aimed at Deepening Preparedness"]

[Summary] Vyskov (CTK) -- "The 2-day Congress of the trade union of workers in the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] ended in Vyskov na Morave yesterday."

The report on the trade union's activity in the preceding period noted that it pursued an effective, economical and good quality fulfillment of the defense minister's orders and of plans in building the CSLA and increasing its combat and political preparedness. The CSLA's trade unionists are also increasingly taking part in paramilitary education and propaganda and deepening international ties with the fraternal trade unions of the socialist countries.

"Among those who took the floor during the discussion was the head of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR Government delegation Col Gen K. Rusov, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and first deputy of the CSSR minister of national defense. He said that of key importance for increasing the effectiveness of trade union work in the CSLA is deepening and strengthening the CPCZ's leading role in all activities of the union as well as developing active, bilateral cooperation with the command and political staff."

V. Kozik, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, expressed in his speech appreciation for the approach by members of the trade union to the fulfillment of their tasks. He also paid attention to improving the style and methods of trade union work.

The resolution of the congress contains specific tasks concerning developing social commitment and increasing the effectiveness of the trade union's work. "V. Chrastil was reelected chairman of the Central Committee of the trade union of workers in the CSLA."

#### CPCZ'S PROPAGANDA HEAD ADDRESSES PARTY SEMINAR

AU230930 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 19 Feb 82 p 1

["(IVA)"-signed report: "Seminar for Lecturers"]

[Text] Bratislava -- An all-city seminar for lecturers of the city and burrough committees of the CPSL on Topic VI of party education in the study of materials of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress, was held today in the lecture hall of the CPSL's burrough committee Bratislava III on the February Victory Street. The event was opened by F. Palier, secretary of the CPSL's city committee; V. Bejda, head of CPCA Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Agitation, spoke of the tasks of ideological and political-education work in consolidating the party's ties with the working people.

REAGAN OAS SPEECH ON CARIBBEAN POLICY VIEWED

LD242218 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2027 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Washington, 24 Feb (ADN) -- Under the pretext of "U.S. security interests in the Caribbean and Central America," U.S. President Ronald Reagan wants to considerably step up economic and military aid for the support of reactionary regimes in this region. At a special OAS meeting in Washington he unveiled a so-called development plan according to which military aid is to be increased by a further \$60 million to a total of \$182.1 million in the current fiscal year. This aid is above all for weapons, ammunition, patrol boats, helicopters and communications equipment, which is to be delivered specially to El Salvador and Honduras. The U.S. President, who slandered the Soviet Union, Cuba and other states in his speech, spoke of measures to "pacify the region."

LEADERS' MESSAGE ON SOVIET ARMY ANNIVERSARY

AU241530 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 82 pp 1,2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades! On the occasion of the 64th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy we convey to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the Soviet people and all members of the USSR armed forces our fraternal greetings and most cordial congratulations.

Led by the party of Lenin, the Soviet armed forces have always honorably fulfilled their patriotic and internationalist obligation for the defense of their home country, for the protection of the achievements of real socialism and for the securing of peace in the world. The historic victory of the heroic Soviet people and their glorious armed forces over fascism opened for many peoples the way to freedom and independence and set the foundation for the longest period of peace in Europe. Never will the sacrificial deed of liberation be forgotten, which made it possible for our people, too, to shape its future anew.

The armed forces of the first socialist state of the world are always unwaveringly, selflessly and consistently in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism at the side of those who are struggling for peace and the progress of mankind. This year's day of honor of the glorious Soviet Army and Navy is characterized by worldwide actions of the fraternal socialist states and all progressive forces against the increasing threat to peace. In view of the fact that the most aggressive circles of imperialism, in particular the United States, pursue a policy of confrontation and intensified armament, the struggle for peace and socialism and their secure protection are of even greater importance. The program for arms limitation, disarmament and international cooperation proclaimed at the 26th CPSU Congress 1 year ago as well as the other numerous realistic initiatives of the USSR for securing peace provide the powerful peace movement which is transcending all borders with new stimuli.

The GDR regards the universal deepening of the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the community of socialist states, the strengthening of its defense power as the decisive guarantee for the permanent securing of peace, the improvement of the international situation and the continuation of the process of detente. The GDR will continue to make every effort to reliably protect peace and socialism together with the allies in the socialist military coalition, in solidarity with all strugglers for social and national liberation.

The fraternal alliance with the country of Lenin, the firm comradeship-in-arms of the National People's Army and the Soviet Army are strengthened and deepened every day. The decisions of the 10th SED Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress opened up great new prospects for further developing fruitful cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in all fields of social life.

We wish you, dear comrades, the Soviet people and all members of the battle-tested armed forces of the USSR great new successes in implementing the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, in building communism and in strengthening peace.

#### YOUTH LEADER KRENZ PRAISES SOVIET ARMY ROLE

LD241624 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1526 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 24 Feb (ADN) -- Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, paid tribute today to the great contribution made by the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany in protecting socialism achievements and peace in Europe. Marking the week of comradeship-in-arms, leading FDJ functionaries visited a group motorized infantry unit which has a long history. In the presence of Gen Ivan Gubin, member of the Military Council and head of Political Administration of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Egon Krenz conveyed the appreciation of GDR youth for their reliable protection of peace.

He stressed that for the GDR's youth the Soviet Army has become a symbol of the heroism, deep commitment to peace and willingness to make sacrifices of the entire Soviet people and its younger generation. This friendship is reflected anew in thousands of meetings and is reinforced again and again by deeds for peace and socialism. "This fraternal alliance is the sound foundation for all our achievements. This has been, is and always will be the case," said Krenz. In this way the FDJ is making a contribution to the strengthening and the military protection of the socialist fatherland and the socialist community. The FDJ members unanimously demand: "Against NATO weapons -- create peace".

#### YUGOSLAVIA'S MARKOVIC CONTINUES VISIT

##### Meeting With Honecker

LD241426 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1251 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 24 Feb (ADN) -- On Wednesday Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received for a friendly talk Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly. The Yugoslav guest, who is visiting the GDR as head of a delegation of the highest peoples' representative body in Yugoslavia, conveyed personal greetings on behalf of Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Sergej Kraigher, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, which Erich Honecker reciprocated.

The two sides paid tribute to the good state of relations between the SED and the LCY and between the GDR and Yugoslavia, relations which are developing favorably in the spirit of the meetings and agreements between Erich Honecker and Josip Broz Tito. In the talks Erich Honecker informed his guest of the implementation of the 10th SED Congress decisions and the achievements of the GDR's working people. The relationship of trust between the party and people represents a solid basis for the successful continuation of the course of the unity of economic and social policy. Dragoslav Markovic reported on the numerous activities of the Yugoslav working people in preparation for the 12th LCY Congress on the successes in building socialism in his country.

During discussions on international issues, Erich Honecker stressed the great significance of the constructive peace proposals of the USSR and the other socialist states. Increasing importance is attached to the close cooperation between the socialist countries and all peace-loving forces in the struggle against the imperialist course of confrontation and arms race.

The two sides stressed that in the current situation there is nothing more important than preserving peace. They advocated halting the arms race, achieving specific measures for disarmament in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, and a constructive continuation of the CSCE Conference.

Erich Honecker paid tribute to the anti-imperialist aims of the movement of nonaligned states, which as an important force in world policy is making an effective contribution to safeguarding peace and halting the arms race.

Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, attended the talks which took place in an open and friendly atmosphere. Djuro Jovic, Yugoslav ambassador to the GDR, was also present.

#### Meeting With Stoph

LD242342 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1726 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 24 Feb (ADN) -- The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, on Wednesday received the Assembly delegation of the SFRY, headed by its chairman, Dragoslav Markovic, which is currently visiting the GDR.

Both sides praised the good development of relations between the two countries which are united in friendship, and emphasized their willingness to consistently fulfill the demanding tasks of comprehensive cooperation for mutual benefit, which had been agreed upon. Both sides underlined the need for increased efforts by all peace-loving forces in the struggle to secure peace.

#### NICARAGUAN ARMY DELEGATION MEETS KESSLER

LD241540 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] GDR Deputy Defense Minister Col Gen Heinz Kessler today received a delegation of the Sandinista People's Army of Nicaragua. During the meeting he described the visit by the officers from this Central American country as an expression of the deepening friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and their armies. The head of the delegation, Martinez (Rosso), expressed thanks for the solidarity support which his people was experiencing from the working people and soldiers of the GDR in their just, anti-imperialist struggle.

#### SEIBT SCORES ISRAEL, U.S. DURING SYRIA VISIT

AU181225 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Feb 82 p 2

[Text] Damascus (ADN) -- "The annexation of the Golan Heights raised a flood of protest among the GDR people." This was declared by Kurt Seibt, president of the GDR Solidarity Committee, at an international meeting Tuesday on solidarity with Syria against the Israeli Golan Annexation. This decision was a severe violation of international law and the UN Charter. The threats of war by the Begin government against Syria, and the recent troop concentrations in south Lebanon and along the Lebanese border demonstrated that Israel is striving to unleash a new war in the Middle East.

Kurt Seibt condemned the U.S. support for the Israeli aggressor. The Reagan administration, he stressed, protects Tel Aviv. The veto of the United States prevented sanctions against Israel, which have been demanded throughout the world. With its unreserved support for the aggressor, the United States prevents a just and permanent peace solution in this region. Kurt Seibt referred in this connection to the USSR proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East with all parties interested, a proposal which has not lost its topicality.



PARTY OFFICIALS ATTEND SPECIALIZED MEETINGS

## Mueller at Farming Meeting

LD172310 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 17 Feb 82

[Text] At the Neubrandenburg District regional farming conference held today, 435 delegates from agriculture, forestry and food industry decided to raise their grain production by 12,000 tons over the 1981 figure. Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and head of the Friedland agroindustrial association, spoke at the end of the debate. She pointed out the central importance of raising soil fertility to fulfill the ambitious tasks set for both this year and the period to 1985. Higher crop yields would provide more home-produced feed for livestock and substitute for imported fodder grain. She stressed the shared responsibility of crop and stock farmers for proper soil use and effective use of everything that is grown. Deepened cooperation should integrate these two sectors of the unified reproduction process.

## Sindermann at Composers Union

LD181316 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1129 GMT 18 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin 18 Feb (ADN) -- A delegates' conference of the GDR Composers and Musicologists Union opened in Berlin this morning. The deliberations are under the motto "Our New Music in the Life of the People." A cordial welcome was given to Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. The report was presented by the union president, Prof Dr Ernst Hermann Meyer. At the conference, which lasts until Friday, 182 delegates will review their work and elect a new leadership.

## Felfe at Agriculture Academy

LD250046 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1643 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 24 Feb (ADN) -- Methods of increasing yields, especially of grain and feedstuffs, have absolute priority in current work. This was stressed by Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at a meeting of the Agricultural Sciences Academy Presidium on Wednesday in Berlin. In praising the work of the academy, Werner Felfe said that in the past year, 22 sorts of agricultural crops for example, have been introduced into use as the result of the outstanding work by agricultural scientists. Research is mainly about those factors which secure fast and stable growth in crop production and a further lowering of losses in the whole chain from the producer to the consumer. The speaker demanded the application of all useful results as quickly as possible on the broadest basis possible, and an assessment of results in all areas exactly and unerringly, from basic research to its utilization by science and technology in actual production.

Previously, Academy President Prof Dr Erich Ruebensam said in his speech that the agricultural scientists are aware of their increased responsibility to increase production in the coming years. "Resolving the task to significantly increase yields in crop production, to use feedstuffs more effectively in livestock raising and to reduce grain imports systematically, as well as improving the ratio of investments to results in agricultural production has its essential starting point in the laboratories and the experimental fields of agricultural science", the president stressed. Professor Ruebensam handed a letter to SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker in which the agricultural scientists affirm their willingness to create with all their strength the necessary scientific advance into the ninety

BRIEFS

ENVOY TO SINGAPORE -- The president of the Republic of Singapore, Devan Nair, received today Eberhard Feister, GDR ambassador to Singapore, for a farewell visit. During the talk the two sides underlined their interest in the further development of mutually beneficial bilateral relations as a contribution towards consolidating peace and international security. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 20 Feb 82 LD]



POLISH COOPERATION COMMISSION TALKS HELD

Budapest Talks Begin 23 Feb

LD231138 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] The Hungarian-Polish Cooperation Commission is now meeting in Budapest. The Hungarian delegation is led by Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai, and the Polish delegation by Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski. Both men are vice chairmen of the committee. At the talks the two sides discussed the implementation of resolutions and intergovernmental agreements adopted at the committee's last session, the present state of economic and scientific-technical relations, and the possibilities for wide-ranging cooperation between the two countries.

Talks End; Document Signed

LD242306 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- The Hungarian-Polish Economic and Technical-Scientific Commission concluded its 19th meeting here today. The co-chairmen of the commission, Hungarian Vice-Premier Jozsef Marjai and Polish Vice-Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, signed an aide memoire on the deliberations.

The commission noted that, since the latest meeting in February 1981, the bilateral economic cooperation has developed in harmony with the mutually-defined objectives. During 1981 -- under more difficult conditions than earlier -- the volume of the goods traffic was maintained at the level of previous years. The backlog was smaller than in previous years, and measures have been taken to clear them up.

The mutual deliveries, envisaged in the protocol for 1982, are at nearly the same value as in 1981. The coordinated deliveries will create favourable conditions for the further, mutually beneficial expansion of bilateral trade. The commission has resolved to speed up the signing of contracts for 1982, and it has called on the foreign trade companies to seek more modern trade formulas in order to overfulfil the targets laid down in the protocol.

Both sides attribute major importance to traditional bilateral industrial cooperation, and hold it important to maintain and promote it. It was confirmed to take further steps to further cooperation and impart new content and form to it. In that spirit were the tasks for the furtherance of cooperation defined for: road vehicle industry, the production of tubes for colour TV sets, in various areas of metallurgy, in chemical industry and several areas of light industry. It is planned to better utilize Poland's free manufacturing capacities, to prolong and expand present agreements on specialization and cooperation in production, and to establish new integration-oriented relations.

The commission assessed the state of bilateral technical-scientific cooperation, defined the chief directions for development, and made a decision on the expansion of economic relations between small-scale cooperative producers.

Ozdowski Departs 24 Feb

LD242314 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- Deputy Prime Minister Jerzy Ozdowski, who had visited Hungary on the occasion of the Hungarian-Polish Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Commission's 19th session, left Hungary on Wednesday. In addition to discussing issues featuring on the agenda of the commission's session, he had talks with Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai on international economic questions affecting both countries, and he studied some questions of principle and practice of the Hungarian system of economic management.

WARSAW PZPR'S ZOCHOWSKI VIEWS PARTY REFORM

LD241054 Budapest MTI in English 1054 GMT 24 Feb 82

["Poland, February 1982" -- MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- "With the imposition of the state of emergency Poland's party and state leadership has no doubt won time for the settlement of the most pressing political and economic problems," reads Wednesday's MAGYAR HIRLAP, carrying the first article of a Poland series by its correspondents who had visited the country. "The most urgent goal in the political field is to consolidate the ranks of the Polish United Workers' Party, to restore confidence between party leaders and members," the article goes on. "The only way out of the economic crisis -- as our Polish interviewees put it -- presents itself in the consistent implementation of the reform. This, however, is hindered not only by the present condition and malfunctions of the economy, but also by the aversion of quite many enterprises to new ways and means.

"What is being done to set the party organizations afoot?" The MAGYAR HIRLAP correspondents asked at the Warsaw party committee. "In the months before December 13 the extremists of Solidarity and anti-socialist elements resorted to psychological, sometimes even physical, terror against party members. Partly because of this external pressure and partly because of internal opportunism, a lot of party organizations have weakened," Mieczyslaw Zochowski, deputy head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department answers. The imposition of the state of emergency brought a turn in the life of a number of party organizations. Everywhere, there were personal conversations with party members who had been active in Solidarity and who fulfilled leading posts, as Solidarity members, in the party or the economic sphere.

"In some instances, however, we could not put up with mere conversations," Zochowski continues. "Those who quit or were banned from the party after December 13 number about 1,500 in Warsaw and the Warsaw province. There was need to dissolve and reorganize a number of party organizations that were unable to purge its ranks and work out a programme adjusted to the new circumstances. But the party does not persecute dual members. It only wants to make them aware of their being party members in the first place. Our ideological activity focuses on elucidating the difference between the Marxist-Leninist party and the social organizations. We put the main stress on creating the new core of the party," Mieczyslaw Zochowski said. Characterizing the novel traits of party activity, Mieczyslaw Zochowski said most factories had set up social committees employing party members as activists. The party organizations have taken the initiative also in the formation of the civic committees of national salvation. Material austerity and price control committees, too, have come into being with a lot of enterprises. "In addition to all this, workers are discussing lively the future of the trade union movement. It is already apparent that the majority of party members are for the re-organization of trade unions on a sectoral basis with the preservation of their self-governing nature. But the once Solidarity staff -- only 4,000 of the 40,000 officials have been interned -- seems certain to cling to the old principles. So the political battle over the trade unions' future is inescapable," Mieczyslaw Zochowski, deputy head of department for the Warsaw party committee, said in the interview with MAGYAR HIRLAP.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 'MOSCOW DAYS IN BUDAPEST'

## Leaders Attending Event

LD241116 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- The opening of the programme series of the Moscow Days in Budapest was held in Budapest on Tuesday.

Seated in the presidium were Miklos Ovari, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Laszlo Marothy, member of the HSWP Political Committee and first secretary of the Budapest party committee of the HSWP; Andras Gynes, secretary of the Central Committee; Antal Apro, member of the HSWP Central Committee and president of the National Assembly, as well as several members of the Central Committee and the government. Also seated in the presidium were Viktor Grishin, member of the Political Committee of the CPSU and first secretary of the Moscow party committee and head of the political delegation staying in Budapest on occasion of the Moscow Days; Vladimir Promyslov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Council. Also present was Valdimir Bazovskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee and ambassador of the Soviet Union to Budapest. Zoltan Szepvolgyi, member of the HSWP Central Committee and president of the Budapest Metropolitan Council, greeted the participants of the opening ceremony; then Laszlo Marothy took the floor. Then Viktor Grishin delivered his speech.

#### Moscow Exhibition Opening

LD250010 Budapest MTI in English 1707 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- An exhibition introducing Moscow has opened in Budapest as part of the series of events entitled: "Moscow Days in Budapest."

The exhibition gives an all-round picture of Moscow: it introduces the life of Muscovites, the development of industry, issues of urban development, health and education, the art of home decoration, sports, and it also offers works of art by contemporary Muscovite artists.

The opening of the exhibition was attended by Laszlo Marothy, member of the HSWP PC [as received] and first secretary of the Budapest party committee; Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP CC; many other representatives of Budapest's party, state, social and cultural life; Viktor Grishin, member of the CPSU PC [as received] and first secretary of the Moscow party committee; leading officials of the Soviet Union's Budapest Embassy, and several members of the Soviet delegation visiting Hungary on the occasion of the "Moscow Days."

In a speech before the guests, Zoltan Szepvolgyi, chairman of the Budapest city council, said inhabitants of Budapest and Moscow relied on one another's experiences in shaping their socialist way of life, development of their city and assurance of population supplies. The inter-city cooperation covers the everyday life of Budapest and Moscow. Hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of Budapest live in modern homes made of prefabricated elements that were produced in Soviet-type prefabricated factories. The Budapest underground has been built with reliance on Moscow blueprints and experiences, and the new sports hall was built with assistance by Soviet experts. Performances of Soviet artists are always outstanding events in Budapest's cultural life.

Then the exhibition was opened by Vladimir Promyslov, member of the executive of the Moscow city council. He stressed that the two capitals had made a major contribution to the cooperation of the two peoples. The friendly relations that have evolved between worker collectives of sister plants well illustrate that cooperation. V. Promyslov expressed the conviction that the exhibition would promote friendship between the two capitals and peoples.

#### Grishin Attends Concert

LD250450 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Our Soviet guests Viktor Grishin, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, and Vladimir Promyslov, council chairman, visited the Bartok memorial house in Budapest this afternoon. The guests met Mrs Bela Bartok, nee (Edit Passtor), and Bela Bartok Junior. In honor of the guests a concert was given by the violinist (Eszter Perenyi) and the pianist (Gyula Kiss).

CZINEGE'S ARMY DAY MESSAGE TO USSR'S USTINOV

AU241520 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Feb 82 p 5

[Greetings message from Hungarian Defense Minister Czinege to Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov on the 64th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy]

[Text] To Comrade Dmitriy Ustinov, marshal of the Soviet Union, minister of defense of the Soviet Union, Moscow.

Esteemed Comrade Minister:

On the occasion of the 64th anniversary of the birth of the Soviet Army and Navy, I convey to you, as well as to the entire complement of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, heartfelt comradely greetings and sincere good wishes on behalf of the Military Council of the Ministry of Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic, the commanders and soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army and myself.

We salute the heroic Soviet Army, which was born in the blaze of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the civil war and the interventions and tempered in the struggles against imperialist provocations and the Fascist invaders. We look with respect upon the soldier sons of the Soviet people, who through their world historical victory over Fascism, defended the first socialist state of the world and opened the path of social ascent and socialist development to many peoples of Europe and Asia, including our people. At all times, the well-trained and modernly equipped Soviet Army can be relied on to defend the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, who are building communism, and it decisively contributes to protecting the security of our fraternal socialist countries and to the struggle waged by the world progressive forces for universal peace and international security. Friendship-in-arms and cooperation embodied in the accomplishment of common objectives with the Soviet Army, for which we are striving in the spirit of our internationalist principles to further strengthen day after day, are an irreplaceable source of strength for the Hungarian People's Army.

On the occasion of the anniversary, we wish the entire complement of the Soviet Army and Navy from all our hearts additional successes in fulfilling the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and accomplishing its historical mission.

With comradely greetings:

[Signed] General of the Army Lajos Czinege, minister of defense of the Hungarian People's Republic.

REPORTAGE ON SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISITBulgarian Visit Noted

LD231634 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] The Spanish minister of foreign affairs has traveled from Sofia to Budapest. Perez Llorca is holding talks with Frigyes Puja, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, in our capital.

The head of Spanish diplomacy was received in Sofia by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of State, and Grisha Filipov, head of government. At the talks they discussed the opportunities for developing cooperation between the two countries and the expansion of relations.



## 23 Feb Talks With Puja

LD232116 Madrid in Spanish to Europe 1830 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Angel Gomez Fuentes dispatch from Budapest]

[Text] Spanish Foreign Minister Jose Pedro Perez-Llorca arrived in Budapest this afternoon from Sofia. This is the first trip to Hungary by a Spanish foreign minister. Perez-Llorca held a long meeting with his counterpart, Frigyes Puja. While examining the state of bilateral relations they acknowledged the need to boost trade exchanges, which have been rather limited to date and without many prospects, and they also drew attention to the consular agreement which Spain is to sign with Hungary, the first such agreement with an Eastern bloc country.

An important part of the meeting dealt with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Of course, the Hungarian minister defended the Moscow line. But it must be stressed that there is concern in Budapest at the possibility of a return to the cold war. It must be borne in mind that the Hungarian people have attained a clear level where consumer matters are concerned and a manner of acting which is more typical of capitalism, all of which is to a large extent dependent on their economic relations with the West remaining stable. The Hungarian minister is very much in favor of continuing with the dialogue promoted by Madrid.

Perez-Llorca is thus attaining his goal of keeping open the door to the East, while he is also raising his voice in the very heart of the communist bloc to demand compliance with the Helsinki Act as the only way to preserve peace, as the Spanish minister put it.

## Puja Hosts Gala Dinner

LD241150 Budapest MTI in English 1044 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 23 Feb (MTI) -- Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja and his wife hosted a gala dinner on Tuesday evening in Budapest in honour of Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs Jose Pedro Perez-Llorca and his wife at the guest house of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry.

## Talks Continue 24 Feb

LD241152 Budapest MTI in English 1104 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- Led by Foreign Ministers Frigyes Puja of Hungary and Jose Pedro Perez-Llorca of Spain. The official Hungarian-Spanish talks continued here today.

Earlier in the day, the Spanish foreign minister laid a wreath on the Hungarian heroes' monument at Budapest's Heroes' Square. He then went to the Buda Castle and placed flowers on the relief raised to the memory of the 300 Spanish soldiers who fell during the recapture of Buda in 1686.

Present at both events were Ambassadors Laszlo Kincses of Hungary to Madrid and Pedro de Churrua of Spain to Budapest.

## Consular Agreement

LD241506 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] A Hungarian-Spanish consular agreement has been initialled in Budapest by the foreign ministers of the two countries. This is the first time Spain has concluded an agreement of this kind with a socialist state. The essence of the document is that Hungarian citizens who visit Spain are to be given greater legal protection. The signing of the agreement has brought to an end the official talks held in Hungary by Spanish Foreign Minister Perez-Llorca.

## Talks Summed Up

LD242020 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- According to the information of the MTI correspondent, on Wednesday, Spanish Foreign Minister Jose Pedro Perez Llorca and his Hungarian host and counterpart, Frigyes Puja, had a comprehensive discussion on timely world issues, with special reference to the halt in the process of detente and its causes. They surveyed the difficulties in the course of the Madrid conference and the related unsettled questions. The stances of the two foreign ministers are similar concerning the need for the continuation of detente and its expansion in the military domain, while they have varying views on certain problems of international politics.

The two foreign ministers evaluated the development of Hungarian-Spanish relations. The Hungarian side is, on the whole, satisfied with the development of bilateral relations, but it sees as yet untapped potentials chiefly in the economic and commercial areas. The two foreign ministers agreed that mutual efforts had to be made to seek the forms that facilitate the promotion of mutually beneficial cooperation in various spheres.

The Spanish foreign minister has invited his Hungarian opposite number to reciprocate his visit. The latter was pleased to accept the invitation.

After the completion of the talks, in the middle of the day, the Spanish foreign minister was received separately by President Pal Losonczi and Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar. Present at both events were Frigyes Puja, Hungary's ambassador to Madrid and Spanin's ambassador to Budapest.

Before his departure, in the afternoon, J.P. Perez Llorca, the first Spanish foreign minister to visit Hungary, gave a statement to the Hungarian media at Ferihegy Airport.

We shall return to his statement.

## Comments on Poland, CSCE

LD242316 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] A Spanish foreign minister has visited us for the first time in the history of Hungary. Frigyes Puja held talks with Jose Pedro Perez Llorca. Then the leader of Spanish diplomacy was received by Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Hungarian and Spanish ministers of foreign affairs signed a consular agreement. Perez Llorca, who left Budapest this afternoon, met journalists at the airport. Hungarian Radio was represented by Gyorgy (Bernat).

[Begin recording] [Bernat] Perez Llorca, minister of foreign affairs, called the development of Hungarian-Spanish relations generally favorable. At the same time he stated that which also was the topic of the foreign ministerial talks: the opportunities not utilized until now should be taken advantage of. These, according to the director of Spanish diplomacy, can be found in trade and in economic and technical cooperation. In the interest of this, the Hungarian-Spanish Mixed Economic Commission will meet soon, as will the experts dealing with technical-scientific issues. The establishment of direct contacts between enterprises will be encouraged in the future too, said the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, and he added that this naturally includes the development of tourism as well.

At the Hungarian-Spanish foreign ministerial talks, opinions were exchanged on how certain events of international life are viewed. Particularly great attention was devoted to the circumstances related to the standstill of detente.

Although views differ in some issues of international policy, the Spanish minister of foreign affairs affirmed that there was agreement that dialogue must be maintained, that relations must strengthen. Dialogue, particularly between countries with two different social systems, is a favorably influencing factor, said Jose Pedro Perez Llorca, Spanish minister of foreign affairs, who called his talks in Hungary sincere and valuable.

Our question was connected to this. As host of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting, does he share the opinion of those who, referring to the events in Poland, call the real work of the meeting and a positive conclusion impossible?

[Perez Llorca in Spanish with superimposed Hungarian translation] We have an opinion concerning the Madrid conference, as hosts and as political analysts. As hosts, we continue to give all necessary aid to the conference which, we hope, will conclude positively sometime. We have already said our opinion in our political analysis: The developments in Poland have affected the work of the conference in an unfavorable manner. We hope that the Helsinki process will further proceed, the full realization of which could be the number one guarantee of real development. [end recording]

#### Additional Departing Comments

LD250956 Budapest MTI in English 0633 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- At the end of his visit to Hungary, Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs Perez Llorca gave a statement to the press on Wednesday in Budapest in which he spoke with satisfaction about the results of his Budapest visit. During the talks he reviewed with his Hungarian colleague the development of bilateral relations, and exchanged views on the most important international questions as well. These themes were analysed in detail at the foreign ministerial talks, at the same time they were also discussed at his meeting with Pal Losonczi and Gyorgy Lazar.

Jose Pedro Perez Llorca emphasized that, in the common evaluation, Hungarian-Spanish cooperation has successfully developed in every field since the establishment of diplomatic relations. During the present discussions they examined the legal (?forms) so far regulating bilateral relations and stated that these well serve the further development of cooperation. At the same time, the consular convention signed now in Budapest presents a new possibility for cooperation. In the opinion of the Spanish minister for foreign affairs, effort must be made for the more effective further development of cooperation between Hungary and Spain, naturally based on results achieved so far, with special chances for development primarily in the trade, economic, cultural and scientific relations. Perez Llorca referred to the fact that such conferences serving the improvement of relations between the two countries will be held in the near future as, for example, the sessions of the Economic and the Technical-Scientific Cooperation Joint Commission. Closer relations between the leaders of various companies is necessary, he said. Personal contacts have to be made more frequent. He announced: The Spanish under-secretary of state for tourism will visit Hungary in the near future to sign an agreement with his Hungarian partners for promoting the development of bilateral tourism. Perez Llorca expressed his hope that further contacts will develop between the representatives of the Spanish and Hungarian Governments, and that his foreign minister colleague, Frigyes Puja, will shortly visit Spain. "We would like to develop an ever wider system of our bilateral relations in this way", emphasized the Spanish minister for foreign affairs and added: This has great significance from the point of view of further dialogues, which is the interest of both the Spanish and the Hungarian peoples, and which can serve as an extremely positive example also for cooperation between countries of differing social systems.

Concerning the themes in connection with the international situation he said that these were discussed in a sincere atmosphere and, in his opinion, fruitfully at the foreign ministerial talks from the point of view of the future. "In spite of the fact that our opinions differ in certain questions we continue to consider dialogue between our countries to be necessary. I feel that the balance of my visit is unanimously positive", said the Spanish minister for foreign affairs in conclusion.

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH SWEDEN SIGNED 23 FEB

LD241108 Budapest MTI in English 1011 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Stockholm, 23 Feb (MTI) -- The new Hungarian-Swedish long-term trade agreement, signed on Tuesday in Stockholm by Hungarian Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress and Bjorn Molin, Swedish minister of commerce, stipulates the employment of the principle of the most favoured nation in bilateral goods exchange. The agreement is valid until the end of 1986. A 10-15 percent increase is envisaged for goods exchanged in 1982.

Under the terms of the new agreement the quantitative restrictions of a discriminating character for Hungarian goods in Sweden will cease. Both governments have undertaken to promote with every possible means the development of economic relations.

Sweden is a traditional trade partner of Hungary. The value of Hungarian trade was almost 6,500 million forints in 1981. In the past years Swedish exports to Hungary were usually greater than the Hungarian export, thus a lasting Hungarian passive balance developed.

There are 54 cooperation agreements in force between the companies of the two countries and one-fourth of the goods exchange in 1981 was from traffic based on cooperation agreements. The majority of these were in the field of machine industry.

COMMUNIQUE ON MSZMP DELEGATION'S TANZANIA TRIP

AU241500 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Feb 82 p 8

["Joint Communique on an MSZMP Delegation's Visit to the United Republic of Tanzania" -- from 16 to 20 February]

[Text] At the invitation of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, an MSZMP delegation led by Laszlo Ballai, head of the MSZMP Central Committee's Department of Political Economy, paid a visit to the United Republic of Tanzania from 16 to 20 February. The delegation was received by Julius Nyerere, president of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania and the United Republic of Tanzania. The delegation had talks with (Daudi Mwakawago), secretary general of the party's Executive Committee, visited Zanzibar and Morogor County and inspected several agricultural and industrial establishments.

At talks conducted in an atmosphere of friendship and solidarity, the Hungarian delegation highly valued the successes attained by the people of Tanzania, under the leadership of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, in strengthening independence and improving the living conditions of the working masses.

The two parties' representatives exchanged views on topical aspects of international life, with particular regard to the situation on the African Continent, and informed one another about their parties' activity and countries' life. They expressed the conviction that the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa will be crowned by success. In this connection, the MSZMP delegation paid tribute to the assistance accorded by the Tanzanian party and government to the national liberation movements. They noted with satisfaction that the forces of progress and socialism have achieved considerable successes in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. Both parties' representatives stressed that the visit was successful and further strengthened friendship and solidarity between the two parties and peoples.

The MSZMP delegation has continued its tour and departed for the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.



AUSTRIAN FINANCE MINISTER PAYS VISIT 23-24 FEB

AU231005 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 23 Feb 82 p 2

[Text] Yesterday Finance Minister Herbert Salcher left for a 2-day official visit to Hungary. In Budapest, Salcher will meet with his Hungarian counterpart Istvan Hetenyi. Following a visit with Deputy Prime Lajos Faluvegi, Finance Minister Salcher will return to Vienna on Tuesday. Economic relations between Hungary and Austria are marked by growing exports and imports and an Austrian structural balance of trade surplus. These relations are to be further developed. Hence at their meeting the two foreign ministers will discuss -- besides the international economic situation -- primarily bilateral topics such as the continuation of the time-tested Hungarian-Austrian cooperation in the building sector. Additional topics of their talks will be the establishment of new border checkpoints and questions connected with local border zone goods traffic.

LAZAR RECEIVES VENEZUELAN, MEXICAN ENVOYS

LD240046 Budapest MTI in English 1756 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 23 Feb (MTI) -- Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, received the introductory visit of Antonio Casas Salvi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Venezuela.

Gyorgy Lazar and Antal Apro also received the introductory visit of Alfonso Herrera Salcedo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Mexican States.

LEADERS CONGRATULATE KUWAITIS ON NATIONAL DAY

LD242346 Budapest MTI in English 1752 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- On occasion of the National Day of Kuwait, Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, cabled his good wishes to Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, amir of Kuwait.

Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, also cabled his good wishes to Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah, crown prince and prime minister of Kuwait. Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja cables his greetings to Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs and information.

PEOPLE'S ARMY UNITS TO GET POLITICAL COMMISSARS

LD241400 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Starting next autumn political commissars are to be appointed to the company units within the Hungarian People's Army to the level of political work. This was said among other things by Lt Gen Ferenc Karpati, deputy minister of defense, at a youth aktiv held today. According to the plans, the duties of these commissars will include assisting the political work of the company as a whole as well as that of the company commanders and, at the same time, to strengthen the order and discipline of the subunits.

Ferenc Karpati stressed that the large majority of young men in the army are carrying out their duties under substantially better conditions than before. The party and the state leadership continues to pay special attention to development of the homeland's defense so that our country may fulfill its Warsaw Pact obligations.

KARPATI, KOROM ADDRESS PEOPLE'S ARMY ACTIVISTS

LD242354 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 24 Feb (MTI) -- Several hundred young party activists, coming from all the various spheres of the Hungarian People's Army, met in a conference here today.

In his address to the meeting, Lieutenant-General Ferenc Karpati, deputy defence minister and head of the political main group of the Hungarian People's Army said that, as before, during the past five years, the party and state leadership paid special attention to the development of the defence of the homeland and, within that, the development of the people's army, so that Hungary be able to abide by her commitments in the Warsaw Treaty organization. He said the Hungarian People's Army was modern, well-equipped and in a high degree of preparedness.

He added that, for a long time, the army has had to discharge not only military functions but also to participate in the realization of important tasks of the economy. These tasks include autumn harvests, transportation at times when the common carriers are overburdened, participation in major central investment projects, e.g., the nuclear power plant at Paks, the realization of the homebuilding programme, and the construction of roads, railways and the underground railway. Work done by soldiers last year was worth over 5,000 million forints. Soldiers were also active in healing the damages caused by elementary disasters.

Speaking of the experiences about the reduction of the length of military service to 18 months, he said the changeover was smooth, due to the careful work of the commanders. However, the decrease in the time of service has put greater responsibility on the soldiers, who have to fulfill the training assignments with increased devotion.

The youth conference was addressed by Mihaly Korom, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee.

"In the period since the 12th congress of the HSWP we realize our decisions as planned in the modernization and strengthening of our national defence. The joint exercises carried out with the allied armies have illustrated: the Hungarian People's Army, with regard to its preparedness and combat strength, is a worthy partner of the other armies in the Warsaw Treaty," said the secretary of the Central Committee.

In the following he pointed out: "We can state with satisfaction that the party's general and national defence policy is well enforced in the people's army, the principles set down in the youth act are realized. The young soldiers serving in the army are well looked after, their education and their care is an organic part of the commanding and party policy work."

Mihaly Korom then emphasized that the party highly evaluates the educational work going on in the army, then pointed out: "It is an important task of the commanders on various levels, the party and the Communist Youth Union (KISZ) organizations to continue to mobilize for realizing the tasks of service, for the conscious acceptance of obligations, order and discipline."

"The party and KISZ organizations carrying on educational work in the army, as well as the commanders have to present the perspectives of national and individual success to the young soldiers not in the abstract but in practice. Alongside the existing problems and deficiencies, socialism guarantees success for those who work honestly. An important task is for relations between the people's army and society to further strengthen. Efforts must be made so that the ties between the young soldiers beginning their service and their former workplaces not cease, that the discharge be received by balanced conditions in civilian life," emphasized Mihaly Korom in conclusion.

CHURCH AFFAIRS OFFICIAL MIKLOS INTERVIEWED

AU231742 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Feb 82 p 5

[Robert Friss article: "Interview With Secretary of State Imre Miklos, Chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, On Timely Aspects of The Policy On The Churches"]

[Excerpts] Theological Polemics Used As a Pretext

[Question] How can the churches be drawn into the building of our society in a world situation in which we are witnessing significant negative events? What echo is there to the revival of cold-war policy in domestic church circles?

[Answer] Our social program is well known. It is supported by our people as a whole, including believers, who have not only voted for it, but together have developed and shaped it along with the rest of their fellow workers. In the past decades, we have been living in a society in which, in spite of the existing difficulties, the country's people have not been threatened by a precariousness of existence, nor by discrimination because of religious conviction. As is known, all Hungarian citizens enjoy equal rights in all areas of life. I think that these are factors which, even in spite of the more difficult and complex external circumstances, are important and indicate that religious people cannot be won over for antisocialist programs in our country. Indeed, the unfavorable phenomena of the world situation rather strengthen the will to act in concert in the churches as well.

The Polish events have not disturbed relations between the state and the churches in our country. The leaders of the Hungarian churches adopted an appeal by the Hungarian Red Cross and, at the end of last December, called on the clergy and believers to aid the Polish population with donations. At the same time, as I have noted, we are experiencing an enlivening and an intensification of "skilled" and "well-informed" foreign and domestic instigations. Some people want to prove their "truth" by propagating additional new doctrines of faith. We do not regard ourselves as competent to make a statement on issues concerning dogmatics and doing so as our task. We consider such polemics to be an internal affair of the churches. However, we cannot, of course, remain indifferent in cases where religious polemics are merely a pretext for disguising political aspirations and infringing upon state laws. Through patient political work, the state organs strive to save religious people from becoming victims of irresponsible elements in pursuit of material interests, a career or, perhaps, "martyrdom." Our Constitution ensures the free practices of religion, but observing the law is mandatory for everyone. That is the same in every country. There is not a state in the world that would permit the contravention of its laws and social norms under the guise of religion; on the contrary; even the declaration adopted at the latest, second Vatican Synod of the Catholic Church pointed out that religious organizations and believers are dutybound to obey legitimate authority and must not violate the requirements of the social order. And the community of citizens is also entitled to defend itself from abuses that are committed under the slogan of freedom of religion.

Defending Peace Is Our Common Cause and Task

[Question] World church organizations have very great pretige in the eyes of international public opinion. How can the Hungarian churches support socialist Hungary's foreign political endeavors and peace policy at these forums?

[Answer] The Hungarian churches are pursuing a multifaceted and assiduous international activity. On the basis of their own ideology, they have found the means to contribute to defending peace and nurturing the faithful on the ideal of peace. All that enhances our country's prestige and expresses the fact that supporting peace efforts stems from the essence of our society.

The country's churches most resolutely condemn the various attempts to revive cold-war policy and the reprehensible theories that serve it, such as propagating the possibility of a limited nuclear war, threatening production of the neutron weapon, embargoes and intervention in other countries' domestic affairs.

In spite of intensified efforts by the adversaries of political detente, cooperation and a dialogue, responsible world church organization leaders repeatedly call for all well-meaning forces that are ready to act to join together to avert the danger of war. This realization is reflected in the declaration issued by the Hungarian bench of Catholic bishops last December, which pledged support for the Geneva Soviet-U.S. talks, stressing: "The courageous voice and action of well-meaning people and their espousal of justice effectively help to create and maintain peace." Today, when international tension is intensifying and reactionary circles are making feverish efforts to arm, it is of particular significance for religions and church forces to engage in the struggle against the danger of a nuclear war more actively than before. Because of the intensification of tension, it is necessary, in the interests of peace and disarmament, for the churches to step up their activity in the struggle against nuclear armament. The politically progressive representatives of the churches functioning in the socialist countries constitute an effective force against warlike ventures. Their activity directly supports the peace policy efforts of the countries of the socialist community and thereby strengthens the united anti-imperialist front. Such intensified activity by the churches is feasible, for our experiences show that some leaders and prominent figures of the world church organizations and several Western churches do not favor the intensification of tension and are adopting, with increasing frequency, a position in favor of cooperation among peoples and are actively participating in defending the results of detente and dialogue.

[Question] How could one briefly summarize the prospects for relations between the state and the churches?

[Answer] In 1982 and subsequent years, we will strive to continue the policy toward the churches that we have been pursuing in an even more consistent and differentiated manner. Studying and analyzing the new manifestations emerging under changing circumstances, the most important thing is that the policy toward the churches should promote the realization of the party's alliance policy as fully as possible. In addition, great attention must be paid to a correct maintenance of the policy toward churches and the propagation of the scientific world outlook on all levels of our activity. Further efforts are necessary against both sectarian impatience and an inflexible outlook and unprincipled compromise. We wish to say that the churches of our country, consistent with their religious principles, should continue to actively promote the cause of detente, disarmament and the safeguarding of peace, because it is our common task to ensure a further expansion of the body of people who want to act for peace and socialism.

#### BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADORS — Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council, on 11 February received Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Dr Mario C. Belisario, new ambassador of the Republic of Philippines in Hungary, who presented his credentials. On the same day, Pal Losonczi also received Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Alessandro Cortese de Bosis, new ambassador of the Republic of Italy. [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Feb 82 p 8 AU]

AMBASSADOR'S FAREWELL VISIT — Dr Rezso Trautmann, deputy chairman of the Presidential Council, has received for a farewell visit Dr R. C. A. Johnpulle, ambassador of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, who has departed permanently from Budapest. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Jan 82 p 20 AU]



SEVENTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM OPENS 24 FEB

## Ideological Declaration

LD241520 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Excerpts] The Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum began at 1200 today in Warsaw.

The participants in the plenum have received a draft ideological declaration of the party entitled "What We Are Fighting for and Where We Are Going" whose title, as stressed in the Politburo report, refers not just by accident to the memorable declaration of the Polish Workers' Party [PPR]. This document will be subjected to discussion throughout the party and, when the expressed views have been analyzed, it will be presented for approval at the next PZPR Central Committee plenum.

The debate is currently continuing at the plenum.

## Jaruzelski Opens Plenum

LD241702 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The deliberations of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee have started in Warsaw.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] At the party Central Committee the deliberations are awaited with great interest. Present in addition to the Polish television team are foreign correspondents. The deliberations will start in a few moments.

The seventh plenum will be inaugurated by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

[Jaruzelski] Esteemed comrades! I cordially welcome you to the seventh plenary session of the Central Committee. I also welcome the invited guests.

Today's plenum is dedicated to party problems, to its ideological unity and organizational cohesion, to the renewal of its prestige, confidence and ability to act.

This is the seventh plenary session since the congress and the first in the new situation, that is since the imposition of martial law. We are holding it more than 2 months after the imposition of martial law in a situation which we consider to be more stable, which makes it possible for us to hold our deliberations in the light of an examination of this situation with the possibility of adopting appropriate conclusions.

(?It is true) that we had meetings in this room with members of the Central Committee, in two groups, on 6 and 7 January and that then we considered the opinions of comrades submitted in writing as answers to a poll. These materials are very precious and they helped us in preparing for today's plenum and they will be useful in the future in the further work of the Politburo and Secretariat. [end recording]

[Announcer] The plenum approved the agenda. The report of the Politburo was delivered by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

## Jaruzelski Address

LD241922 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1705 GMT 24 Feb 82

["Extensive excerpts" from speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee at 24 February Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades. Today's seventh plenum bears a special character, the Central Committee has convened for the first time in the conditions of martial law.

Enormous responsibility rests on us. It would be no exaggeration for me to say that today not only the whole party and not only the country is looking toward the hall where our proceedings are taking place.

Today at a time when the international situation is getting worse, it is necessary for one to become conscious in detail of why the struggle is being waged and what role within it is assigned to our country.

The present generation has become accustomed to think that peace is a lasting value; unfortunately, the the recent period, it is being increasingly threatened. The American administration bears the main responsibility for this. In fact, it is proceeding away from the era of negotiations and leading toward a confrontation policy. Over the past few months it has commenced the manufacture of neutron weaponry, it has resumed production of chemical weapons; it has adopted a record military budget, it is intensively introducing new armaments. Strategic variants of the preventive strike and limited nuclear war in Europe have been revived.

Imperialism has never abandoned the aim of turning back the revolutionary and national-liberation processes begun by the October Revolution. It is trying to achieve this aim in various periods and regions by using various means.

What the ruling circles in the United States currently want is this: In the first place, to attain unilateral advantage, to violate the balance of forces shaped as a result of World War II, secondly, to put the brakes on the national liberation process in the territory of the Third World, to export counterrevolution to countries in which progressive transformations have taken place; and in the third place, to keep the West European partners on a tight lead burdening their economy with an armaments ballast. This policy has led to a considerable worsening of East-West relations. The Soviet Union, consistently faithful to its policy of peace, has given numerous proofs of its willingness to compromise.

Ignoring the commitments of previous administrations, Washington is choosing a course of confrontation. During the recent period it has demanded that the Western countries join the anti-Polish crusade and the anti-Soviet psychosis. Some governments succeeded in making their own decisions on the basis of realism and farsightedness. Others yield to U.S. pressure denuding in the eyes of the entire world the actual restrictions of their sovereignty. Even power status offers no protection in the face of Washington's diktat.

In this wide context one ought to examine actions toward our country as a fragment of global policy. Poland is being treated instrumentally [instrumentalnie] as one of the pressure levers operated against the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The genuine interests of the Polish nation, its frontiers, peace and living conditions, the secure existence of its state, are of no consequence in this strife.

Poland is not a small country. Its demographic and industrial potential, geographical position and military importance, are valued highly in Europe and the world. But at the same time, our country became, for a transitional period of time, a weakened link in the socialist system. Thus it has been assigned the role of a detonator under the edifice of peace, the foundations of which constitute the indivisible agreements of Yalta and Potsdam.

The process in the chain to dismantle the socialist community was to have begun with Poland, rolling back European history by an entire epoch. We have thwarted that intention. The state of martial law in our country became, in effect a state of antiwar; it removed, or at least considerably reduced at the present moment the threat of confrontation. Poland, solving its problems by its own forces, can become an immensely important, key factor in saving peace. Perhaps history will at some time attest to this. Just as the World War II began over Poland, world war III did not begin due to Poland. We took the decision to impose the state of martial law solemnly, on our own responsibility, motivated by the interests of the nation and of the socialist state.

Nobody dictated that decision to us. One should like to say that the Poles are not sheep and they have their language and above all their intelligence. Bitter experience has taught us that the existence of the state has to be fought for, before it is lost. It is not enough simply to have favorable, just frontiers. They must be respected, defended steadfastly and persistently; their guarantees renewed.

That is how we will behave in the future as well, in accordance with our sovereign right, with the supreme *raison d'etat*, the Polish state. The intelligence services of the NATO countries diagnosed the situation in our country last year mistakenly. They did not appreciate the wisdom of the Poles, the values and ideological conviction of our armed forces, the efficiency of the organ of the socialist state. They were taken by surprise by the solution we chose. The plans regarding Poland were prepared for years. They swallowed up no mean sums. They collapsed in one night. That those plans were far-reaching is shown by the acuteness of the reaction. If the cap fits...[nozyce sie odezwały] [word indistinct] and economic war was declared on us. [as heard] Attempts are still being made to win back the lost stake to fan a hotbed of unrest in Poland. The activity of subversive broadcasting stations is being expanded but the 36 hours a day of Polish broadcasting is still not enough.

A cabaret chorus is teaching us what to do for Poland to be Poland, this melody is off key. Its conductors are today carrying out a policy of threats and confrontation, which in its extreme variant could lead not only to Poland ceasing to be Poland, but Europe to be Europe as well.

Poles are being called to underground action, and therefore, in fact, to a fratricidal struggle. It is no coincidence that the psychological warfare services have recently been giving a lot of publicity to a new catchword: The Winter Is Yours, but the Spring Belongs to Us. We have always stated clearly and unambiguously: Counterrevolution will not win through. We have kept our word. Counterrevolution has not won through. Hopes for turning back events in Poland are a dangerous illusion and are a dangerous blunder. One cannot turn back the course of history. The spring will not belong either to us or to you. There will be, quite simply, a Poland which is also a socialist Poland. [applause]

Before it is too late, may Polish and foreign sowers of unrest weight this up carefully. In certain Western capitals one can hear expressions of regret that martial law is still in force in Poland. However, in these same capitals everything possible is being done to augment our difficulties and make sure that there is no internal stabilization -- in other words to make sure that martial law lasts as long as possible. The appeal "Work Slowly!" is of particular significance. Under capitalism, of course, no one makes such appeals. This is apparently aimed at people devoid of any common sense. Those who wish to work like tortoises can, I think, only expect tortoise food.

What is needed is an in-depth view at the overall shape of relations with abroad. With the Western partners there have been and still are honest agreements which are of mutual advantage. We value them. They have helped us to modernize industry. They have created a good foundation for the further development of cooperation. We are interested in continuing this cooperation. However, we have come out badly on many transactions. On more than one occasion we were sold out-of-date technology and licences which were being phased out by Western industry. Excessive interest on credit was demanded. Specific people from the previous central leadership bear the main responsibility for this short-sighted policy. However, numerous specialists, experts, traders, financiers and industrialists are not without blame, not without great blame. There were not many who were bold enough to signal concern or to sound the alarm. Just the opposite. There was frequently prompting and encouragement. It is estimated that out of the more than 400 Western licences bought in the past period, every tenth one was superfluous and unfavorable for the Polish economy. Licences were bought which proved totally impossible to implement, and licences were bought which would have yielded a worse and more expensive product than that yielded by Polish industry. Post-licence policy was neglected on a widespread scale. And the same goes for imports: Elementary components for production processes were purchased for hard currency which it would have been possible to make in Poland. Denture powder, bale-binder twine, umbrellas, hunters' ammunition and so forth were also bought.

These are not jokes, comrades. This is material for serious reflection, for deeper assessment of responsibility, for reaching appropriate conclusions. Erroneous credit, import and licensing policies released the myth embodied in many people that prosperity can be built on shortcuts. This cult of licences was also an expression of underestimating Polish scientists, (of) engineering cadres, talents of which could have been shared with more than any one foreign country. We count on it that engineers and scientists will today double their efforts, so that in many branches of technology Poland can quickly become independent from unjustified imports.

In the light of these experiences, our natural markets in the socialist countries -- a benefit which stems from the division of labor within CEMA -- should be developed and given much more attention than hitherto. Similarly, cooperation with developing countries has not been fully appraised. Many of these countries have experienced neocolonialist boycotts. For them it is even more alien against Poland. We highly appraise their understanding for our difficulties, the respect for the principle of nonintervention. We wish to develop with the countries of this area, closer, mutually beneficial relations. Today we are paying for gullibility and shortsightedness.

We must stand firmly on our own feet, be a worthy participant in international economic life, including (?being) a desirable partner for Western countries. We are proud of our European heritage, of the many-century Polish contribution to the culture and civilization of our continent, (?and of the) struggle for freedom and progress of other nations. We do not fence ourselves off from Europe and the world. We want to retain ties. We will memorize the stance of those countries, governments and persons, which, in a difficult moment, showed understanding for our situation.

We are grateful for human gestures which have been reflected in charity aid. We count on the fact that there will be a sober appraisal in the United States too, a country with which we are linked by traditional relations of friendship; that a return to realism will take place there.

Comrades, let me recall Tadeusz Kosciuszko's wise words: The time has come when much has to be sacrificed, so that everything can be salvaged. The reasons behind the setting up of the Military Council of National Salvation and the introduction of the state of martial law have been explained by us repeatedly. Everyone who is thoroughly familiar with the course of events in Poland, who is capable of thinking in political terms and in a responsible manner understands these decisions. All other ways in which the political and the economic crises could be brought under control have failed.

The aggressive monologues from Radom and Gdansk broke the dialogue conclusively, the introduction of state of martial law was our final possible political initiative to avoid incalculable consequences -- confrontation. Today, some voices doubt whether it was necessary to introduce martial law; others ask why it is that it was introduced so late. We bear responsibility for the fate of the nation and of the Polish state. The future would not have forgiven frivolous decisions; nor would it forgive us for being passive, for capitulating. Such extraordinary steps are not taken under the pressure of emotions or impatience. It is only permissible to resort to extraordinary measures in situations when no other choice is possible.

To those who today voice various opinions, alleging that the decision came too late, one can reply: It is easiest to give advice; it is hardest to show political caution in practice, and it also takes courage. One mistake we have certainly never made, the error of being arrogant. No one can accuse the party or the government of failing to show good will and patience.

We believed, and invariably continue to do so, in the political instinct of the working class, in the nation's sense of responsibility. We persistently reached out in order to arrive at an accord; this is our moral identity card. Those who today are offended by the martial law but have done nothing, or almost nothing to make it possible to avoid it, know this very well.



Even at a time when the country was disintegrating daily, at a time when the government forwarded to the Sejm a draft of what, after all, was a limited act, concerning a temporary ban on strikes, to last only during the winter period, Solidarity responded by threatening a general strike, while various authorities became outraged and started protesting that the spirit of liberum veto had triumphed; the times of anarchy had returned.

Repeatedly, openly and loudly we warned against the danger. The authorities warned they would not shirk from using constitutional means of defense of the state, should this turn out to be unavoidable. We said this many times, during negotiations and from the Sejm rostrum. Resolutions of the fourth and sixth plenums mentioned this.

We did not, therefore, hide ourselves away, each of our offers, each appeal was treated as evidence of weakness. All our persuasion broke up against a brick wall. How much lack of imagination there was in this; how much blind hostility; how much alien inspiration; let the members of the Solidarity union themselves judge whose trust was so culpably abused.

Demands were incessantly multiplied. Political aggression grew, directed against our party and the organs of the socialist state, against the alliances of Poland. One of the fundamental human rights was trampled on, the right to security and calm, to undisturbed labor. We came to see how the relationship between Pole and Pole developed under the influence of the extremists forces.

Political struggle was transported onto the territory of the economy. Successive blows were delivered, each measure aimed at overcoming the crisis was torpedoed. These facts were and are known. We reported on them. We sounded the alarm to public opinion constantly. Nobody has the right to maintain that he did not know about this; even abroad we were criticized for the disintegration of the economy, for the Polish strike mania. It was ridiculed by foreign journalists. Politicians followed it with anxiety. Today, all together, they are shedding crocodile tears.

The destructive actions of the Solidarity extremists increased after the ninth party congress. The course of the congress, its bold program and historic resolutions, made the opposition anxious. It recognized that socialist renewal, the revival of party life, can rebuild the authority of the party and consolidate trust in it, while at the same time demonstrating the barrenness, the contradictions, as well as the essentially antiworker character of the political slogans put forward by the opposition. The more the party came out to meet the community's expectations, the more it overcame mistakes, the more unscrupulously it was attacked.

Illegal antistate organizations began to creep out from underground. Threats were heard concerning the physical liquidation of members and activists of the party. At the same time, in many regions of the country, actions were prepared to remove the party committees from the works enterprises. In actual fact, the creation of an antipower, an antistate was launched.

We expect, moreover we demand from our party historians, from sociologists and publicists, a penetrating, well documented analysis of the phenomena and events of the past period. There is, however, one general conclusion which already today may be formulated. Namely, every organized oppositional force in Poland becomes, sooner or later, a center which concentrates all reactionary and adventurist trends, right up to and including quasi-fascism [paszyzujace], even in cases when, at the beginning of opposition activity, ostensibly progressive, pseudo-leftist slogans are put forward. Such is the rule of contemporary class struggle.

For after all, the postwar history of the Polish Peasant Party followed a similar course. It rapidly became a magnet for all antistate forces, including armed underground forces. It is also the rule that the opponents of socialism always appeal for support to the capitalist world. They will find it. For this purpose there will never be a shortage of funds there. A logical consequence of actions by the opposition is confrontation.

We experienced this in the 1940's. It must be remembered that despite the limited scale, the civil war at that time engulfed more than 20,000 human beings. Whosoever still intends today, to organize such opposition, to play at conspiracies, to perform acts of terrorism and sabotage, let him be certain that he cannot count on indulgence.

Adventurism delays the return to normalization; it threatens the economy, which is being reborn. In the defense of the values which are supreme for the nation, we shall be uncompromising. We are not making empty statements.

Anyone could have experienced this. Preventive actions and administrative measures have, however, in our system, an ancillary nature. The crisis of social consciousness cannot be overcome by the use of forces of order. What is necessary are lasting and genuine political solutions. It is not most important that the enemy exists, but the fact that through its demagoguery it can find its way to a section of the community.

Today, the struggle for human rights must start by going among the people and fighting with the weight of arguments for our cause. In everyday practice we must apply the dialectics of the current, much more difficult stage of political struggle. The effectiveness of fighting the enemy will be all the greater, the better we can persuade those who are not enemies. The party will not apologize for its existence, but on the other hand it will not turn people away. It will not start its rebirth with new errors.

Our decisions and actions must be tough, even severe. But in every individual case they must be understandable to the workforces, for all working people. They must be just and morally irreproachable. They must be principled and at the same time profoundly humanitarian, testifying to our faith in man. The one who does not believe that man cannot change is not a good communist.

We continue to live in martial law conditions. Its first consequences on economic and social life I described a month ago in the Sejm. Today I can add that the battle against the winter has already been won. Martial law does not mean a freezing of reforms. We confirm this by action. Only in conditions of indispensable calm is it possible to put into effect the planned reforms, to introduce laws which constitute a foundation for the development and consolidation of socialist democracy.

We are determined, despite all obstacles, to march further along this road. There can be no withdrawal from the line of socialist renewal. Martial law is not an objective by itself. We regard it as a stage in regaining equilibrium, in overcoming the toughest threshold of the crisis. It constitutes also an effective tool in the restoration of order and security, in combating crime and social pathology.

Martial law involves burdens in the everyday life of our citizens. In conformity with the announcement made in the Sejm on 25 January they are being and will be gradually alleviated. Along this path, in the course of the past 2 months, a great deal has been done. However, as we have stated on many occasions, the fundamental alleviation of martial law restrictions, and finally its complete lifting, are related to ensuring complete calm and overcoming the most acute economic difficulties.

Let us hope that this will happen as soon as possible. In the course of the next few days the minister of internal affairs will inform the public about further changes in the range of martial law rigours and about the release of more interned persons. However, it will not be possible to ease the restrictions to the extent we would wish.

Tensions, excesses, leaflet campaigns are not conducive to this. They are detrimental to the general social interests. They deserve to be condemned. They must be counteracted vigorously. They prolong the duration of martial law.

Comrades, the party is at the beginning of a long and difficult road. We are pulling ourselves together. We are going over to action. We do not start from scratch. We have an undeniable trump card: The achievements of the 37 years of People's Poland.

May every citizen decide in his own conscience what the extent of these achievements is. It was through arduous toil that we lifted up a country devastated by war from its ruins. We have permanently connected the western and northern lands with the homeland. The great cause of levelling out people's status was effected. People's power ensured work for millions of industrial workers of the first generation. It gave land to the peasants.

It is only in conditions of socialism that Poland was able to get through the first and most difficult phase of industrialization. The people were going to towns. There was social and cultural progress for the working class and also for the peasants. The guiding thought and activities of our party are engrained permanently in these achievements as are the toil and selflessness of the working class, of all working people and of the whole nation. These are priceless values. One cannot sweep them aside.

Today, however, one must above all ask oneself the question of whether the workers' party has fulfilled the hopes pinned on it. The answer to this question must be genuine. Our party, even before August 1980, lost the support of part of the working class. Later on many party organizations were paralyzed as a result of attacks by the enemy. The party's own weaknesses also rendered it helpless. Why did we remain in the rear? The course of socialist construction in Poland up till now clearly proves that uneven development also takes place among socialist states -- some countries develop more rapidly, while others develop more slowly with numerous obstacles, despite the fact that both embarked more or less at the same time on the road of socialist construction. These processes should be researched thoroughly both regarding the historical and present-day conditions of individual nations and also regarding the causes which are purely subjective. The latter, which affected our situation so greatly, are voluntarism in policy and economics, disregard for the universal hard-and-fast rules governing socialist construction and an insufficient amount of wisdom in exploiting what is specific in the nation.

Our party must draw all the necessary conclusions from this.

Who can we count on in the construction of a socialist Poland? It seems that it would be possible to distinguish in our society, for the sake of the argument, three kinds of attitudes. The first attitude is represented by all supporters of socialism. The second consists of those whom we want to and whom we should win over, of those who have lost their way, and those who are disappointed and full of doubts. Finally, the third and relatively smallest but dangerous group is made up the self-declared enemies of socialism who threaten the people's state and who carry out destructive activities. We shall fight these.

In its mass the nation is nonparty. We party members are only a part of it. We know that it is not possible to make the nation happy by force detached from specific and social reality. However, we do not wish to reconcile ourselves passively with this reality. We wish to transform this reality in such a way that tomorrow really is better than today. The whole experience of the workers' movement and of real socialism up till now proves that human attitudes and views are not changed on their own accord. We wish to fight for them, to fight against the narrowness of horizons, against egoism and against dehumanizing relations between people.

In the period of People's Poland such ideals of socialism as a feeling of social justice, equality of opportunity and general access to culture have taken root and entered more deeply in social awareness.

For the decisive majority of citizens, these concepts have become vitally necessary, natural, like the air. Many people, also those who do not consider themselves supporters of socialism, become aware of this when they come up against a flawed social practice or only abroad, in contact with the capitalist system. It is the party which initiated those transformations. This cannot be attributed to any other social force. The edifice of socialism in Poland, although showing signs of damage in many places, therefore has sound foundations. Socialism is implemented through work and a just division of the fruits of that labor. The principles of: from everyone according to his abilities, to everyone according to his work, must be interpreted at the same time as the duty of the collective to the individual and the obligation of the individual to society. There is a lot to be done here, both on the part of the state and on the part of the citizens.



Many issues will be resolved by the economic reform which is being introduced. No systemic, organizational or technological solution, however, will bring lasting results without the introduction of discipline and order in all aspects of life, without the elementary sense of duty of citizens. Poland has an enormous backlog in this respect. The attitude toward broadly-conceived social discipline requires profound transformations. This must not just be an apparent transformation, an ad hoc transformation, linked with the rigors of the state of martial law. The point is for there to be a kind of guide to life in society. The inspection-control reports, the reports by the military plenipotentiaries and the operational groups and also other similar material make depressing reading.

How much neglect and waste there is in our country, how much incompetence and unreliability. How many matters take a lackadaisical course, sometimes matters which could be settled literally in a day. And after all, the responsibility for the majority of this neglect should also be felt by the echelons concerned, and in particular by basic party organizations operating in a given milieu. Today's plenum should stress with all its might the principle that every party member is a frontrunner in his milieu and has the duty to combat lack of integrity and evil, primarily through participation in the work of various kinds of social, professional and creative organizations. This statutory duty must, in the present situation, take on supreme importance.

In the conditions of martial law, it became essential to suspend many organizations, including the trade unions. The future of the trade union movement arouses vital interest in society; various opinions and proposals are being discussed. We have recognized it as useful to create a platform for a broad exchange of views. You, comrades, know the proposals of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the announcement of a general discussion on the subject of the rebirth of the trade union movement. It will be necessary to view all the conclusions from the past, to analyze thoroughly what led to the minimizing of the role of the trade unions as well as what put them in opposition to the socialist state.

The party is in favor of the reconstruction of a strong, independent and self-governing trade union movement which will create a common platform for joint management of the country, for the organization and the defense of the daily socioprofessional interests of the working people. Independently of the nature of the concept of reconstruction of the trade union movement that is accepted, this trade union movement should, without fail, respect the socialist principles of the state system and acknowledge the leading role of the PZPR.

The functioning of other public and creative organizations is gradually being restored, as the situation stabilizes in the country and within those organizations. To a great extent this depends on the action of members of the party in those walks of life, especially in those walks where the executive organs which have been in charge so far have lost the sense of realism and responsibility.

A good many difficult problems are facing the young generation of our citizens, including the youngest members of our party. Material worries, especially connected with housing, are often accompanied by conflicts deriving from relations among people. The sensitivity to injustice, which is characteristic of the young people, their sensitivity to the rift between reality and ideals, makes the start difficult and discourages young people as soon as they have gained the first experience of public life. We shall not insist on proffering advice to the young, this is their own country and it will be such, and no other, as they build it with their own efforts. Those who today are beginning their professional activities can add their own luster to socialism in Poland. This is a great responsibility for the future of the whole nation; in this it is necessary to support and help them. We in the party have neglected the educational element of party work; more often than not we led people by the hand without listening attentively enough to what the young people had to say. We were put off by the impetuous form of criticisms -- this is true most of all with regard to young workers. Opposition to dishonesty, the demand that deeds should match words, the need for genuineness in the implementation of socialist ideals, that whole freshness of perception which young people possess is what we need in our activities: it can enrich the party.



We must raise the question of the presence of the party among the young people and the presence of the young people in the party, the problem of the methods of action of youth organizations and their real participation in the exercise of power. From comrades who, in their daily activities, have experience of the problems of youth, we expect specific proposals. This matter will be the subject of one of the next plenary sessions.

Socialism is not built in abstract. The party has to act among people as they are, on real, specifically shaped, public ground. Realities here amount, above all, to the existence of differences in outlook within society. We are of the opinion that, as has been the case till now, all issues deriving from this point should be tackled in the spirit of the Constitution.

On the basis of the same principle we view also the relations between the state and the church. The well-known precept that what is Caesar's should be rendered to Caesar, was implemented variously in different periods of history. Out of the 1,000-year-long history of Poland we wish to select and continue those elements in our mutual relations which contributed to the consolidation of our statehood and to the improvement in the state of civic awareness, while rejecting all that brought discord and hindered the patriotic integration of society. It is not a secret that there were and still are differences of opinion; the paramount interests of the nation and of the state require constant patient efforts aimed at reducing discords and at broadening the areas of mutual understanding. We live a long way from heaven, but on the same earth; differences in outlook which determine the internal and personal sphere of human experience cannot constitute an obstacle in the search for the common denominator in public and state matters, in the continuation of a useful dialogue.

The divided work is a place of strife. One of its main elements is the rivalry in the intellectual sphere. A state in which intellectual life exists on a low level and which cannot profit from the intellectual potential of its citizens has no chance to succeed in keeping pace with others or to advance in the development of civilization.

It is in this context that intelligentsia's social role should be understood. It creates the nation's most important intellectual and cultural values; it is an extraordinarily important constituent part of the nation, albeit relatively less numerous. It is on it that the enormous responsibility for the country's today and tomorrow rests. The overcoming of the social crisis we are experiencing requires that it should also be overcome in the community of the intelligentsia. We have seen a great deal of frustration and confusion in this community; not everyone grasped what was taking place around them. Many uncritically yielded to illusions. Some, who had previously been cautious and, at times, servile, were in the forefront of the zeal of renewal, crossing out their entire lives to date, contributing to particularly harmful social events.

We therefore value all the more those who managed to withstand pressures, to retain their own judgment. The future will certainly prove them right. In the community of the intelligentsia, civic concern for the good of the nation and for the genuine restoration of the republic predominates. Polarization of attitudes is taking place. There is proof that individuals engage in thought and reflection over their own stance. Poland's intelligentsia has deep roots in the social and professional structures of People's Poland. It takes part in the process whereby these structures acquire shape. However, it too is shaped by them.

In some sections of the intelligentsia, the attitude of internal emigration is appearing. Educated people who are so much needed by the country take the attitude of sulking onlookers. There is oversensitivity; people yield to emotions, approaching political consideration in an emotional way. It is worthwhile here to recall a similar phenomenon from the first postwar years. Internal emigration harms, in the first instance, those who chose it. Life will go on; it has its own, merciless laws. We should openly and sympathetically carry out activities among citizens who do not belong to a party; we should carefully listen to what they say. Lenin wrote: Our task is, at all costs, to strengthen the link between communists and honest people who do not belong to a party.

This is the only way to revive our sometimes ossified party primary organizations where there is a wall between communists and those who do not belong to a party. It is necessary to liquidate this divide at all costs. In our situation, this instruction of Lenin assumes particular weight.

National salvation committees [KON] are spontaneously being formed in the country. There are almost [word indistinct] of them. Frequently people of authority from a given community belong to them. Often older people are members; their experience is valued, as is their willingness to social work.

Perhaps it will be more correct to treat them as committees for national rebirth, for in essence it is a question of the participation of non-party persons in social activity and in the joint management of the country, enlarged and deepened in such a way that it should be possible to speak of a rebirth of the social tissue in Poland.

The movement of national rebirth ought to become a social movement with full rights, a truly democratic movement, concentrating all those who are not satisfied with their own four walls. Let us not prejudge the structural forms of this movement. We ought not to harm it, at the moment of birth with an excess of exhortations. Let it seek the manner of action proper for itself. Let it avail itself of the many valuable, unjustly denigrated, experiences of the Front of National Unity [FJN]. Let it wisely support the administration, integrating the local community, mobilizing useful initiatives.

There is only criterion: social approval and, at the same time, respect for the Constitution and law. Nobody has a monopoly of patriotism. The party confirms with all force its offer of a national accord. Retaining its constitutional leading role, the party desires to initiate partnerlike relations with all social forces which desire the prosperity of the nation, which recognize the supremacy of the interests of the socialist state.

Martial law will pass; Poland will remain. Its problems will remain, which may be solved only by joint forces, and with mutual respect and tolerance.

We do not want to prejudge the forms of the accord, or its place in the structure of Polish public life. We consider that the committees of national salvation could constitute a good point of departure. This is, however, a matter open to discussion with those who will join in the accord.

The basis of our political and constitutional system remains the leading role of the PZPR, acting in alliance with the ZSL and the SD. This alliance has proven itself throughout the entire history of the people's state and in the most difficult moments of the past period. It is also proving itself at present. We give the proper status to this alliance, taking care over real partnership and joint responsibility.

We also discern, in the construction of the accord, the role of lay Catholics, the representatives of national minorities, the women's and youth organizations, the scientific and cultural associations and all patriotic social forces which base themselves on the Constitution.

Comrades, we are working in particularly difficult economic conditions. Since the completion of the country's postwar reconstruction we have never had so many painful difficulties to deal with. The profound crisis has encompassed all fields of the national economy. We must, in a short time, solve the problems which have accumulated over the entire postwar period, which we have not managed to deal with over the years. This concerns fundamental matters: the system of managing the economy; the profound structural disproportions; the detachment of prices from the costs of production and of prices from productivity; the incorrect structure of employment.

At the ninth congress the party marked out a program for healing the economy, for leading it from the crisis. This is a program without precedent, in terms of both the scope and the depth of the intended transformations.

Its implementation was set about immediately. The effects, however, were negligible. The forces of destruction delayed the implementation of the program of repair; they even acted in the direction of deepening the difficulties.

The introduction of martial law put an end to this. It restored to the economy its elementary harmony and order. Everywhere, where it depends on us ourselves, where there are sufficient raw and other materials, we already note a discernable progress.

For instance, coal extraction, and the production of copper concentrate, cement, machine lathes, machinery and equipment for agriculture have increased. The interest in livestock raising has increased. The effectiveness of the efforts which we are undertaking has been seriously diminished by the restrictions applied against Poland by some capitalist countries. The shortage of raw and other materials imported from these countries is causing a further decline in the production of many goods.

American technology and American fodder formed the basis of almost the whole of our poultry industry. From the United States we imported annually around 2 million tons of (?needed) corn. In this case the restrictions mean a fall in poultry production from 505,000 tons last year to 170,000 tons in the current year. Consequently the consumption of meat per inhabitant will be reduced by 7 kg, and of eggs by 25 annually. Employment in the poultry industry will be less by 13,000. Productive assets worth around 275 billion will remain unexploited.

Polish fishing enterprises too, deprived of the right to fish in the traditional Atlantic fishing grounds, will lose each year no less than \$20 million. The U.S. sanctions are gravely experienced also by some other enterprises, including the pharmaceutical works in Tarchomin. Such a cost will be borne by our entire community.

Against a background of this difficult situation one can see the enormous significance of the stable cooperation and aid by the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union. Its scale hitherto is well known. Over the past few days Comrade Leonid Brezhnev has reported on a CPSU Central Committee Politburo resolution concerning additional deliveries to Poland of raw and other materials. These will include cotton, leather, wool, artificial fibers and materials, synthetic rubber, aluminum oxide, [word indistinct] and cellulose.

These deliveries will ensure work for hundreds of enterprises and tens of thousands of people. A several dozen strong group of Soviet activists and economic experts is currently in Poland. With relevant representatives of the Polish side they are analyzing the possibilities for a better exploitation of our productive potential, with the aid and in cooperation with the economy of the Soviet Union.

We are confident that the visit, announced for the first days of March, by the Polish party and state delegation to the Soviet Union will contribute toward a further broadening of our internationalist cooperation and toward the consolidation of Polish-Soviet alliance and friendship.

Comrades, the prolonged economic difficulties are giving rise to anxiety, a feeling of a lack of prospects, discouragement and apathy. It is possible and necessary to understand the impatience of the community. But it is also necessary, with all force and responsibility, to stress that we can succeed in emerging from the crisis. We have a program for the repair of the economy. I presented its amended provisions on 25 January this year, from the podium of the Sejm.

We have adopted as our main objective the provisions of adequate food for the nation, the security of the basic needs of society and the recovery of our economic sovereignty. After the Sejm session the government announced who, at the level of the government and within what time limits, would be responsible for the implementation of the various tasks. We are aware, however, that the implementation of this program will be decided by the activity and a joint and united effort of all working people. We must count, above all, on our own resources. At one time the saying went: A Pole can do it.

Later helplessness came into fashion; little was needed to coin another saying: A Pole cannot do it. Today the truth of the matter is that the Pole simply must be able to do it, at all costs and by any means; he must fight for survival in the most difficult period, for capturing and consolidating a springboard from which to launch further developments. It is often asked: Should we be introducing an economic reform in the face of so many accumulated difficulties, when the national economy is still breathing with just one lung? The stand adopted by the party was unambiguous and has remained the same: There is not and cannot be, any retreat from the line of reform which constitutes an integral part of the program of socialist renewal and an important factor in overcoming the crisis. The fact that, in these conditions, we follow a course of reforms furnishes the best proof of our determination and the honesty of our assurances. This will be corroborated in the bills adopted by the Sejm. For the first time in the history of our people's state the principles and the system of functioning of the national economy will be determined by the supreme representative organ. This is in accordance with the resolutions of the ninth congress aiming at the creation of institutional guarantees of the development of socialist democracy, which will protect public life from regression.

The reform is a large-scale undertaking. Its first stage is difficult for the nation. A considerable increase has been made in retail prices; compensations could not fully match the rise in living costs. It is with profound appreciation and respect that one should speak of the stand adopted by the nation which accepted this situation as an irksome but inevitable necessity. The reform is putting in motion new mechanisms which have not yet been explored to their full extent; their function will have to be watched attentively, while action is taken to neutralize all their negative public effects, which are particularly inevitable in the initial period.

This can be done successfully only by a socialist state assisted by the initiative of the party. It was this function of the state that opposition forces tried to strike out from our experience. No great imagination is needed for comprehend the consequences of an unchecked development of the national economy, lacking facilities which would ensure the protection of the interests of the general public. What is necessary now at the enterprises is to disseminate knowledge of the principles of the economic reform. Patient efforts must be made to bring it round to all employees that it is their work alone that will decide the amount of remuneration and the amount of benefits provided at the work place. The reform will only create the conditions for new economic management; it will depend on the people how these conditions are used. A profound change of mentality is required. It is necessary to abandon stereotyped patterns of thinking and action at all working posts.

A considerable role will be played in this by employees' self-management bodies which will be revived as conditions arise favoring their existence. Party organizations and authorities at all levels will need to make intensive efforts of a political and explanatory nature; these efforts will, to a great extent, decide how quickly and effectively the rationalization of economic management is achieved together with the elimination of waste and the improvement in discipline and in the organization of labor. Today, when it is necessary to count, above all, on our own resources and our own resourcefulness, when we are so short of means, any initiative aimed at a better utilization of what we possess is more important than ever.

Members of the party and especially party members who are technicians, engineers or economists, Polish scholars, should be outstanding in their activities aimed at promoting innovations. What is needed is new technological and organizational solutions which will bring about economies of energy, fuel and raw materials and lead to the improvement in the quality and durability of manufactured products as well as to the rational replacement of materials hitherto imported with home produced ones. Every idea which has been put into effect is of importance when it is of quantifiable economic or public value.



There already exist many good examples of difficulties, resulting from the limitation of imports, that have been overcome with our own resources. Such examples can be provided by the [word indistinct] chemical works, the Stomil works in Sanok, the Zygmunt and Zgoda foundries, the nitrate works in Jaworzno, the cellulose works in Ostroleka and many, many others. Similar action must be taken everywhere.

It is the duty of the party organizations to exercise political control over the proper interpretation of the economic reform in accordance with the principles adopted. What is particularly important is that we should ensure an honest approach to the calculation of costs and to fixing of prices. It is necessary to prevent enterprises from achieving advantages at the expense of the public. Party authorities should, first of all, categorically demand that party members adopt the necessary measures in this direction.

Much remains to be done in the countryside as well. We appreciate the value and the difficult nature of the work of Polish farmers.

The agrarian policy of the state, shaped jointly by the PZPR and the ZSL is stable. I confirmed this once more a month ago when I spoke in the Sejm about the durability of its principles and the inviolability of family farms, as well as about the equitable treatment of all sectors of agriculture -- the individual, the cooperative and the state owned sectors. We must do everything in our power to promote an increase in agricultural output by means of a rational use of every scrap of cultivated land, by increasing the delivery of machines, installations and other means of production and through better use of all this equipment, through a rise in the level of farm technology. Party control must be extended to cover the whole field of services to agriculture; it is necessary to eliminate irregularities which occur only too frequently and also profit making through exploitation of the toil of farmers. This is eloquently indicated by the whole experience of the local operational groups. In combatting evil that is rife in the Polish countryside it is necessary to achieve close cooperation with rural self-management bodies.

The powers of local authorities are being increased. Direct control of an ever increasing proportion of public and economic life is passing into the hands of the local authorities. Consequently, it is necessary, on the one hand, to achieve full utilization of the potential created by this development; on the other hand, it is necessary to effect political control over the activities of local administration systems. What is at stake is for the increased powers to serve properly the achievement of public aims set by the party.

Much can be done to make people's lives easier, without special investments or additional means, especially in the sphere of trade, services, health care, transport, and care for children and the aged. Often, all that is needed is good will and a sensible appraisal of the situation. The party should support and sponsor all the activities in this direction.

Party organizations at all levels should adopt a new way of thinking about the complex of socioeconomic problems, inspire and encourage activities at enterprises, in urban centers and in the countryside. We do not mean here that the party should manage the economy or its individual branches or that it should issue directives. Management of economic processes is a matter for the state and economic administration, where responsibility for implementing the set tasks rests.

However, nothing that is important and vital for the state, nation and the working people is a matter of indifference for the party, nor can it be. The party must be a spokesman for the working class when the strategic goals of economic policy are charted and when they are implemented in practice. It must win the public over as far as reforms are concerned, even when they are difficult; but it must also be aware of their social consequences. It must ensure that they are protected against implementation within a narrow framework of economic terms of reference, technocratic implementation, against human concerns being dealt with in a soulless way. At the same time it must, through its members, be in the forefront everywhere, in every post. It is from this that the possibility for political influence, of winning over one's colleagues to party policy is born, and it is in this that this possibility exists.

Comrades, as far as the Marxist-Leninist party is concerned, only one, supreme and decisive criterion exists -- its link with the working class, its credibility in the eyes of the working people.

In the current situation, it is the basic aim of our activities to regain this credibility. A question has been asked: Can our party, after so many upheavals, after so many hard experiences, cope with the current tasks? The view abroad was that it should be dissolved, that a new party should be set up. At least the name should be changed, it was proposed. There is no such need. The party, under its current, but already historical name, within its organizational structure up to now, is capable of finding within itself enough strength to effect a complete rebirth, to lead the working class effectively. However, the party, in order to remain itself, cannot simply remain as it is. It will only strengthen itself and rebuild its leading function when workers feel that it is vitally needed by them, that it expresses their interests, that it serves the working people. Revolutionary spirit is measured not in words but in deeds. We wish to be a party of sensibly dissatisfied people, restless people, a party that destroys the worst to build something better, a party whose revolutionary spirit does not weaken after it has gained power or scored one success. Such a party does not usurp unto itself the leading role, it simply has it. We must work to obtain a strong position for the party within the working class. We must give the working people the certainty that there is a force which thinks and acts thanks to them, for them, for their rights. Historically, the party has fulfilled this role and is fulfilling it.

However, when, due to committed errors, due to enemy actions, its recognition wanes, it is deprived of its most important, decisive force, the support of the masses. We are a party with more than 2 and 1/2 million members. But let us never again be beguiled by figures. At the time of liberation, in July 1944, the Polish Workers' Party had some 20,000 members and the left-wing Polish Socialist Party less than 8,000.

At the time of the first congress the Polish Workers' Party had just over 200,000 members. Nevertheless, the role of the party raised no doubts. From this there is an important conclusion also for today; the greatness of the party is determined by its quality. The time has come to look at the balance sheet, to assess the state of our own forces, to discuss the most urgent tasks in the light of the decisions of the ninth congress in the conditions of the existing situation.

Comrades, the party is gradually regaining strength. It will remain an historical fact that despite defeats, despite heavy losses, the party survived. It was not routed. The majority stayed with it. This is greatly due to party activists and those party members who did not break down under enemy pressure. They went through the school of difficult political struggle in which they gained experience and a so-much-needed toughness. Those who survived, who passed the test of their ideological bearing and courage, provide a guarantee for the rebuilding of the party's strength and efficiency. Many, very many of our comrades were the object of attacks, threats and slanderous insults. Honest men who looked a worker straight in the eye were carted away in wheelbarrows simply because they had the courage to oppose the adventurists.

It is about you that I am talking, Comrade Jan Matynka from the Szczygłowice colliery. On many occasions you risked your life as a member of the mining rescue team and such was the unworthy reward you received. I am talking about you, comrades, from all parts of the country, who have done so much and who today remember with bitterness the wrongs meted out by your comrades at work. Such injuries are most difficult to forget. But forget them you must. It would be below your dignity to seek revenge, a personal settling of accounts.

We lived through difficult days. Wladyslaw Broniewski said aptly as regards such experiences: It is a good thing; it will make you a sounder person. That is how one grows into a man. No one is born a communist. Life has exposed men who are dishonest toward the party. We are removing them from our ranks. But there have also been such people who were unable to take the impetus of the blow. They remained behind. If they did not harm the party, we do not want to condemn them. They have been marching with us along a section of the common path. One cannot obtain a patent for ideological bearing and courage.

Deep personnel changes have occurred in the party. As regards top cadres one could even refer to a shock. As a result of the election campaign preceding the ninth congress there took place virtually a complete change of leading party cadres. It was encompassed in 85 percent of the voivodship committees and in over 65 percent of the municipal, parish and factory echelons. Fifty percent of first secretaries in primary party organizations are comrades discharging their duties in their first term of office. In the course of the past 18 months, 53 percent of political workers have left the party apparatus for diverse reasons.

After 13 December of last year, due to submitted resignations and decisions of party authorities, changes were made in the case of 311 primary and voivodship secretaries, 240 secretaries of factory committees and 1,856 first secretaries of primary and sectional party organizations.

These figures give an idea of the dimension of personnel changes, the greatest in PZPR history. This also has side effects. Many selfless and honest comrades, for various reasons have not gone through the electoral sieve. A considerable number had to go as the result of reorganization and the reduction of the administrative apparatus. No one need be ashamed of this. However, there are problems as regards finding jobs for them. A false atmosphere is being created around them.

The party, the people's state cannot afford to have young pensioners embittered by their situation. This must be remedied.

We remember the difficult political situation in which the recent elections in the party were held. They too, had a real bearing on the replacement of party cadres. They led to a profound rotation of generations, a distinctly younger aktiv. However, a certain section of those young people, comrades full of eagerness and enthusiasm, did not possess enough knowledge and experience; others lacked strength and principledness. As a result of the ideological uncertainty and chaos in some organizations, party posts were occupied by weak people, who were not able to maintain a party attitude, but sometimes simply caved in under the influence of antisocialist forces. But it was not democracy in the party that failed. In the election campaign, just as in the whole of party activity, a general social dissociation made itself felt, which also was transferred to within the party. The pressure of hostile forces, the offensive by alien ideology did not stop at the threshold of many basic party organizations and even of some elective echelons. This experience does not, however, undermine the correctness and usefulness of the democratic election machinery, confirmed and improved by the ninth congress.

The party will retain strength and unity only when it consolidates in its everyday practice the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. We will not depart from the norms of party life contained in the new PZPR statute and in the program and resolution of the ninth congress. The course of events updates and corrects some detailed theses, but the line of the ninth congress remains in force.

A systematic study of those documents must be organized urgently throughout the party. We did not manage to do this after the congress. It must be done now. The statute is the party's moral standard. The resolution of the ninth congress is its program thinking. Comrades, the party is alive and active. It is analyzing its mistakes in order to overcome them. It will not be an eternal convalescent. The inviolable principle of socialist construction is the leading role of the party. No nation yet has either built or defended socialism without a Marxist-Leninist party. We are not the only ones who know this. The truth is also known to the opponents of socialism. That is why they made such a sharp attack on the party, even using the ridiculous slogan: Socialism Without the Party. That is not socialism: It is a ship without a rudder or sails. The attack was painful only because we were not able to draw conclusions in time from the accumulating sicknesses in the party. When the party weakens, goes on the defensive, first of all a crevice, and then a crater, appears. It appeared in the consciousness of a considerable part of the working people.



The trust of the working class cannot be got by decree, obtained by declarations alone. The acts of the pre-August period, often exaggerated in hostile propaganda, lie deep in the social awareness, like a rusty nail.

The working people have the right to ask: What are the real guarantees that we will not repeat the mistakes, that yet another renewal will not be necessary? Party members also want to know whether the fund of experience accumulated in the recent period will not be squandered.

We are looking, therefore, not for ad hoc practical solutions, but for a real, permanent, irrevocable rebirth of our party. Let us say more: We are looking for guarantees that we speak at today's plenum for the last time in the history of the PZPR about a separation from the working class. How should we act in the new situation, therefore? How can really watertight guarantees be created?

There are three spheres in which one must seek an answer to this question. First, it is in moving closer to the everyday life of the working class, to working people. It is permeable mechanisms within the party itself which make it possible to counter blunders quickly and effectively. Second, it is in the strengthening of the organizational and ideological-political unity of the party, in the observance of the principles of intra-party democracy. Third, it is in the need to bring the theoretical base of the party closer in line with practical activities. One must also say that our workers-peasant Central Committee, which maintains such close everyday contacts with working people, constitutes in its very essence an institutional guarantee. Never before in the history of our party has there been such a strong and direct representation of the working class and of peasants in the composition of the Central Committee.

For many years now the problem of cadre policy has been the object of consideration in our party. However, it never proved possible to carry this right through. Partial solutions led, on the one hand, to the overlooking of many ideologically sound and talented people and, on the other hand, even to instances of so-called "negative selection" which have left a sad mark in the memory of society. Thus, it is not hard to understand why the recent discussions on cadre topics ran at such a high pitch.

We are now setting about creating a harmonious national cadre system, a system of integrated cadre policy. While rejecting bad practices of the past, including the bureaucratic and formal attitude to selecting people for top posts [nomenklatura], we must maintain the active role of the party in the sphere of cadre policy. At the same time we shall act in the spirit of extending participation in the running of the country by representatives of the other political parties and by nonparty people, including lay Catholics. The cadre system will be applied chiefly in the sociopolitical, state-administration and economic spheres. And, finally, this system has levels in its structure: For instance, parish, voivodship and central levels or factory, amalgamation and ministry levels. However, it must be welded together by uniform general principles and by enriched [wzbogacony] instruments and criteria, particularly in the sphere of selecting and placing cadres, of training and improving them, and of systematically assessing how open they are to the public and how informed they are.

A step in this direction, as was recently suggested by members of the central party authorities, would be the appointment of a team which would work out principles regulating the course of work in the party apparatus. This team could prepare the regulations governing the work of party workers and also logical structure of party committees. The regulations being drawn up at present, which envisage many new solutions relating to the work of administrative personnel, are also aimed in the same direction as are the ethical code, which is being drawn up for state employees, and the cadre review, which is being carried out for the first time and which will be carried out annually henceforth in ministries and in voivodship and parish offices.

The experiences of our armed forces in cadre activity are useful in this. One must be inflexible concerning the criteria of cadre policy. Candidates for leadership posts at all levels must actively accept socialism, must have professional qualifications, organizational abilities, personal standards and irreproachable moral attitudes.



We shall be guided by these principles irrespective of the party affiliation of the candidates. People who are positively restless and who are endowed with an innovative turn of mind, who can rapidly translate ideas into practice, are needed above all. The creative predispositions of those individuals who are the most gifted and dynamic constitute an enormous social value.

In our society it is not necessary to go seeking out such people with a candle. They must be given an opportunity, particularly in the period of the greatest intellectual fertility -- in other words, when they are still relatively young. Intellectual qualifications are not in themselves sufficient to take on leadership posts. In just the same way one cannot be a good doctor without being a good man. But at the same time one cannot be a party activist, a manager or a superior if one dislikes people, if one treats them as objects. When dealing with people one must display honesty and consistency, culture and tact. The greatest effects are achieved when someone likes his work, when he feels satisfied with this work, when he is surrounded by a friendly and kind environment, when he enjoys deserved authority and trust. The ability to create such conditions for subordinates ought to be one of the fundamental requirements for carrying out leadership functions.

Comrades, the situation as regards culture is an area in which our party is interested and at which it is concerned. Ideological paralysis and dangerous confusion make themselves felt in this field, too. The party's cultural policy is being deliberately questioned. But it is precisely this policy, despite errors and simplifications, that made cultural heritage available to a nation which, as recently as just before World War II had one-third of its population completely illiterate. These services are passed over in silence. Not infrequently, the essence of the state's socialist patronage is undermined. It is supposed to hand out money that belongs to the whole of society and to listen to what every Tom, Dick and Harry wish to do.

We do not wish to impose on those who create their own topics, or the days in which their artistic activities are expressed. We value outstanding talents who make the name of Polish culture famous in the world. However, we will not abandon the postulate that those things which humanize life, which enrich man, which serve to change the individual's consciousness in the direction which accords with the way history is going should predominate in the culture of socialist Poland.

No one can cope with this task for those who create culture. As far as the area of material bases of culture is concerned, it is the aim of the party activities to expand the social reach of culture, to expand the participation of the working people, especially from the working and rural communities, in its creation and reception. The understandable variety of means whereby it is expressed cannot be regarded as tantamount to showing leniency for kitsch, for the poor in spirit, for pseudoculture. Party organizations must devote more attention to cultural matters, help primary organizations within artistic communities, show concern for correct directions of the state's patronage.

We have great appreciation for teachers. Their hard toil, great services for educating and bringing up the young generation have not been fully appreciated at all times. The recently passed teachers' charter is testimony to our respect for the dignity of this profession. However, it is necessary to state that in this community, too, worrying phenomena came to pass. We all know about them and trust they will be overcome. Party organizations at higher educational establishments have urgent and important tasks to deal with. What is currently the most important matter is to show concern so that peace, an atmosphere of normal study and work reign supreme in academic communities.

The life of higher educational establishments went through big upheavals caused by the activities of forces that oppose socialism. Party organizations at higher educational establishments should participate in the process of repairing this damage by showing a principled attitude and, at the same time, reclaiming the people who have gone astray.

Party propaganda must currently be a topic for special interest. Its workers serve the cause of socialism in the first line. From propaganda we expect well-aimed professionalism for the cause of the socialist way of thinking, for the cause of social and patriotic intentions. A movement of thought and proposals should be organized both from the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top. We need an authentic dialogue with readers and listeners. Let it be bitter, severe, but real. The truth is and will remain our ally.

Esteemed comrades, we have experienced numerous setbacks. Optimism has, for a long time now, not been a guest in Polish homes. The economy has regressed by a few years. Daily difficulties are being painfully felt. Numerous conflicts divide Poles. National accord is yet to be constructed. All this is true. However, what cannot be allowed is for the complex of crisis, of chronic setbacks and of disappointed hopes to gain a permanent place in our society.

Let us not fall once again into that so very Polish cycle: from a flash in the pan to extreme despair. We must believe in ourselves, in the ability -- manifested so many times in our history -- to lift ourselves from disasters and defeats.

We have a rich potential of people and materials. We have alliances and friends, conforming to the interests of the nation, whose help in time of difficulty proves unfailing. We have a party which is being reborn. These are sufficient prerequisites for Poland to emerge onto the level, straight path of socialist development. But this chance does not yet mean that it is a reality. Between the chance and the fulfillment of expectations there is simply work, efficient, above average, self-sacrificing work.

We are not making unrealistic promises. There have been many of these. It is necessary to pull through the next few months. Over 2 to 3 years we will obtain strong bridgeheads. We will restore normal supplies. We will raise the status of the zloty. In a few years time, Poland can be a stable country, properly organized economically and socially, safeguarded against reappearances of crisis.

This vision lies entirely within the range of our realistic possibilities. By a joint effort of the party and the allied parties, lay Catholics, the trade union movement and millions of nonparty people, we can transform it into reality.

We are the masters of our own house. We will change that which is obsolete and superfluous. We will develop that which has proven itself in the postwar history of the nation.

At today's session we have presented to the comrades a draft ideological declaration of the PZPR. Not by chance does its title refer to the memorable declaration of the Polish Workers' Party, What We Are Fighting For. We submit this document for discussion by the whole party. Each of its members may be the document's coauthor. After analyzing the views expressed in the discussion, it will be presented for endorsement by the Central Committee, probably at a successive plenary session. Next, we will take it to the entire community.

We are not here only since yesterday; we are not an alien transplant, but a branch of the indigenous Polish root.

In the current year we are celebrating two anniversaries, important not only for the party but for the whole nation as well: the 100th anniversary of the workers movement on our lands, and the 40th anniversary of the Polish Workers' Party. Both prompt serious and profound reflection, because both recall that which is universal in socialism and which, for generations, can be fused [word indistinct] into our specific national traditions.

The Polish workers movement was born in a country that had been rubbed off the map of Europe, and yet it immediately began to speak in the Polish language and surround itself with Polishness. The Polish Workers' Party was born in a country pushed into slavery and from its beginning placed the slogans of independence and social justice in the vanguard of its programs. This gives us the moral right to speak to the nation about socialism, about the party and about the nation itself.

Comrades, I appeal to the Central Committee to endorse the assumptions of party work, presented on behalf of the Politburo, for the coming period. Allow me finally to share with you a personal reflection.

Several days ago a pensioned miner wrote to me, from Siemianowice Slaskie, a party member of many years' standing. This letter contains an expression which I should like to quote: In Poland things are sometimes better, sometimes worse; but there is only one Poland and it is necessary to yield for it. We can only get as much as we give ourselves. [applause]

#### Other Party Speakers

LD242220 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] At the moment there is a discussion taking place at the seventh Central Committee plenum. Kazimierz Skara, a senior miner at the "Ziemowit" mine in Tychy was the first to speak.

He spoke, among other things, on the conditions needed to quicken the process of normalization of the situation in Poland.

Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission, pointed to the hopes linked with the seventh plenum by party members and by the general public. He recalled the aims facing the party's auditing bodies, including revealing irregularities as early as possible.

Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the Opole Voivodship PZPR Committee stated that the party is formulating a point of reference of the problems of today and the future. Such a chance is created by the declaration of the program.

Tadeusz Bawarski, a bricklayer and foreman from the Belchatow power plant stressed that the most important is restoring the credibility of the party in the eyes of the working class and in the eyes of society.

Jerzy Trzesniewski, first secretary of the Warsaw steelplant committee stated that the party organizations must, yet again, in a thorough way, review of their strength, needs and action possibilities.

Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the party Central Control Commission, emphasized that the key condition which must exist so that the party ranks can be unified is the clear spelling out of the fact that there will be no return to the situations existing before 13 December or before August 1980.

Jan Bednarowicz, a worker at the heat and power plant in Lodz, drew attention to the need for a return to the Lenin norms concerning life within the party, and for purging party ranks of people alien to its ideology and moral standards.

Tadeusz Witoslawski, from Chodiez in Pila Voivodship, next to take part in the discussion, said the wide support for the Military Council of National Salvation by the public is evidence of their approval.

Marian Orzechowski, party Central Committee secretary, introduced delegates to the contents of the draft ideological declaration. He also pointed out that this document is being created on the 40th anniversary of the Polish Workers' Party and in the year of celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement.

The next speaker, Artur Kwiatkowski, a farmer from Wroclaw Voivodship, stated that the period from 13 December has shown that under the conditions of law and order it is possible to achieve progress toward stabilization.

#### More Speakers

LD242242 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2120 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Deliberations of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee have begun in Warsaw.

Wladyslaw Kruk, first secretary of the Lublin PZPR Voivodship Committee stressed the vital need to construct a front of national accord. This idea has obtained the support of party members and the majority of society.

Marian Otawa, senior officer/navigator of the Polish Steamship Line in Szczecin, pointed to the growing role of the party as the genuine leader of social life and to its initiatives in making closer contact with the masses.

Zdzislaw Gebaska, a teacher from Krosnowice in Walbrzych Voivodship, pointed out that the introduction of the state of martial law did not mean automatic release from all negative phenomena and errors. The signs of enlivening party organizations should be recognized as a good beginning to a long and difficult road.

The next speaker, Stanislaw Slawek, coordinator of the (?civil defense) section in Kwidzyn pointed out the characteristics which should currently be shown by party members. He recognized an everyday, immensely important duty of the party to be the defense of the weak -- people who are in a particularly difficult material situation.

The next speaker, Mieczyslaw Maksymowicz, a farmer from Kedzierzyn village in Koszalin Voivodship, referring to expectations in the party in connection with the present plenum, expressed support for the draft party ideological declaration.

Jerzy Niemiec, a professor at Warsaw University in Bialystok, pointed out the need to raise the party's standing, stressing that one of the main conditions for rebuilding trust is the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress.

Jozef Brozek, first secretary of the voivodship committee in Nowy Sacz stressed the need to strive for the restoration of the proper role to the Sejm and to people's councils. In our state system, he stated, there is a place for an independent and self-governing trade union movement.

Albert Kosowski, a machine operator in the offset plant of Prasa-Kziazka-Ruch publishing cooperative in Warsaw Voivodship spoke on issues linked with the development of culture. He also pointed out the lack of ideological knowledge among party members and activists.

#### Urbanski on Bourgeois Pluralism

LD250930 Warsaw PAP in English 0828 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Feb (PAP) -- Speaking at the 7th PUWP CC session, chairman of the Central Commission of Party Control Jerzy Urbanski said:

"Using a special position of the working class, political gamblers and demagogues pushed major part of this class to disrepair the economy as a result of workers forcing unreal demands through strikes. To perform the leading role, the Polish working class does not need more educated intermediaries, as some people tried to claim recently.

"There is a need for protecting Poland and the PUWP from the results of political subversion. We cannot adopt a neutral stand on this phenomenon, but we must fight subversion. He who will have doubts as to the correctness of the path taken by us, who will not cope with difficulties of this struggle, will lose.

"The party comes out for a variety and a multitude of views, but always formulated on the ground of the fundamental assumptions of socialism. The bourgeois political pluralism, understood as the right to proclaim openly incompatible or even hostile views with the socialist ideology, is a system proposal entirely unacceptable for our party," said the speaker.



## Orzechowski: Draft Declaration

LD250940 Warsaw PAP in English 0836 GMT 25 Feb 82

["Speech by M. Orzechowski at 7th PUWP Plenum" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Feb (PAP) -- CC Secretary Marian Orzechowski said that while submitting a draft declaration "What Are We Fighting for and Where Are We Headed To", one must address himself to a few matters. The first of them is the necessity to define the place and role of the party under martial law and after martial law has been lifted.

The party must define its role and tasks in heaving the country from the socio-economic, political and moral crisis. This is today its greatest duty to the society. All of our experience of recent months poses before us the issue of the Polish state which must be sovereign, secure, credible as an ally, strong and functioning efficiently. The attitude to the state, the problem of strengthening statehood today plays a much greater role than before.

Another issue is the substance of the declaration and its meaning. The declaration has five chapters: Our Origin, Our Traditions, Our Experience, Where Are We Headed To?, Our State, Our Party [as received]

These chapters also set out the main objectives for the party, define its character and thus build the platform for ideological, political and organizational consolidation of its healthy force. The principled Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the Polish reality meets half way the expectations of the members of our party. Taking into account the condition of the PUWP, the phenomena of ideological wavering, but also the momentous and controversial character of the problems we are facing, the declaration, no doubt, will spark off a lively debate, prompt controversies within the party, controversies in the sense of a positive, creative discussion. This is not only inevitable, but, we believe, also very desirable.

The draft declaration is addressed to the whole party. It is obvious that if it is addressed to the whole party, then through the party it is also addressed to the society.

## 24 Feb Session Concludes

LD242350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Excerpts] The Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum chaired by Central Committee First Secretary Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski is defining the PZPR's tasks in the struggle for party unity, for the consolidation of people's power and for the full social acceptance of socialism.

The speakers in the debates included Kazimierz Miniur, first secretary of the Krakow Lenin Steelworks factory committees; Stanislaw Kalkus, works foreman and quality controller at the Poznan Cagielski works; and Ignazy Drabik, senior foreman at the Skarzysko-Kamienna "Predom-Metko" metal plant.

The last person to speak in the first day of the debates at the seventh Central Committee plenum was Benedykt Suchecki, chief of a farming enterprise at the (Kanjon) agricultural production cooperative in Skierniewice Voivodship.

The discussions will resume tomorrow morning.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM RESUMES 25 FEB

## Discussion Continues

LD251212 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Under the chairmanship of the first secretary of the party Central Committee, the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum has reopened.

Stanislaw Habczyk, candidate member of the Central Committee, first secretary of the Zywiec town committee, spoke first. He concentrated on problems concerning the strengthening of party organizations in factory enterprises and stressed the necessity for decisive liberation from sectarian actions. He also spoke about problems of cadre policy, being free from personal arrangements of all kinds and subjectivism.

Next spoke Zenobia Zurawska, candidate member of the Central Committee, seamstress at the ("Dzianoteks") hosiery factory in Bydgoszcz Voivodship. The building of party authority demands concentrated on activities and, at the same time, a wise stance by all party members in their milieus.

The next speaker was Jozel Gwozdz, Central Committee member, master craftsman from Beldon steelworks rolling mill in Katowice. He stated that workers at present count on the party, and believe that the realization of resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress is the guarantee of democratization of political life and uplifting the national economy.

Zenon Czech, first secretary of the Przemysl PZPR Voivodship Committee, pointed out in his speech that the majority of party organizations in the Przemysl region, despite difficulties in ideological-moral matters, have recovered their political and organizational preparedness to come to the front line of the struggle.

Jadwiga Nowakowska, Central Committee member, master craftsman of the Tsewing shop in ("Celina") hosiery factory in Lodz, referred to fears which accompany the introduction of economic reform and especially the price increases. She said, inter alia, that intensive activity which protects workers' interests should be undertaken, and a detailed analysis of the cost of living should be carried out. She also stressed that for the party to regain credibility, a decisive cleansing of it from accidental, passive and ideologically alien people is necessary.

Antoni Wrobel, Central Committee member, first secretary of the factory committee at the Mazowieckie refinery and petrochemical works in Plock, spoke next on the role of the party organization in a factory enterprise.

The discussion at the seventh plenum continues.

#### More on 25 Feb Speakers

LD251326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] As we already reported today at 0900 the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum reopened under the chairmanship of Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Here are further speakers in the plenary discussion.

Jozef Woloch, candidate member of the Central Committee, teacher at the Wroclaw Technical University, concentrated his speech on the definition of tasks and methods of party influence on political consciousness in the community of higher educational establishments. He expressed hope that strengthening political work and raising the standing of socio-political sciences will be favorable in forming correct attitudes and raising the level of teaching.

In turn, Andrzej Styczynski, Central Committee member, metalworker-welder from the "Elterma" Lubuskie thermotechnical factory in Swiebodzin brought up problems of the young generation. He said that confidence of the youth in the authorities, belief in the reality of overcoming the crisis should be restored, and that their partnership in resolving the key problems of life in the country should be ensured.

Zbigniew Hanff, Central Committee member, miner-rescuer from the ("Tacyt") hardcoal mine in Katowice, stated that the party must be present at the solution of workers' matters and problems. In his speech he also devoted much attention to definite mining problems, production, social, health protection and other matters.

Next, Henryk Wojtal, candidate member of the Central Committee, first secretary of the Krosno party voivodship committee stated that martial law permitted the restoration of calm in our country and that factory enterprises, despite many material and component difficulties, are working normally. However, the progressing normalization, he said, cannot cover the existing difficulties which by themselves, on their own, will not be resolved. An important task of the party, he stressed, is to attract youth to it through a program which reaches their aspirations and is in accordance with its requirements.

The discussion at the seventh plenary Central Committee session continues.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY PUBLISHES TRADE UNION THESES

AU250950 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Feb 82 p 2

[PAP report: "Proposals Issued by the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Unions on the Trade Union Movement -- Theses for Discussion"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Unions asks the workers and all the working people to initiate a creative discussion on the future of the trade union movement.

The roots of our state are embedded in the soil of workers and people. Our state acts by the will and on behalf of the working masses. Trade unions express the working masses' interests. That is why the socialist state needs the support of a strong trade union movement, which is one of the instruments helping the activities of the state agencies to assume the correct course. The trade unions' share in social and state life is the necessary prerequisite for strengthening and developing socialist democracy.

The activity of trade unions was suspended after martial law had been introduced in our country. However, the need to discuss the future of the trade union movement is not dictated exclusively by that particular situation. In 1980 the workers class expressed its justified discontent with the model of the trade unions as it was at that time and with their unsuitable position in the country's social and economic life.

In 1981 one of the streams of the trade union movement continued to degenerate into an opposition force that promoted destructive activities and threatened the existence of the state and people. Conclusions must be drawn from those two experiences. Such conclusions will be an important part of the thinking about the future and structure of the country's entire social and state life, because the trade union movement is a crucial component of the great whole represented by Poland's socialist shape, which we want to strengthen and improve.

For those reasons and in this vein the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Unions wishes to sponsor a discussion on the future of the trade union movement, and asks the workers above all and all working people to support this discussion.

Having studied the present views of the working people, the committee puts forward the following proposals concerning the principles determining the future of the trade union movement.

I. The Polish trade union movement is proud of its long traditions and rich experience in the struggle for the interests of the workers class, in representing the working people's needs and in helping create socialist Poland's achievements. In the past few years there has been an accumulation of errors, and the role, tasks and methods of the trade union movement have been out of tune with the needs of the masses. However, the permanent positive values accumulated over decades should be taken into consideration during the discussion on the nature and shape of the trade union movement.

The committee does not intend to impose any concept -- worked out in advance -- for organizationally restructuring the trade union movement. The regenerated trade union movement should assume the forms proposed by the will of the workers class and the working people, should express the country's interests and should bear responsibility for the state situation, which it helps run.

The committee expresses the conviction that the trade union movement proposed by the will of the workers class will not go back to those forms, methods and style of work that provoked the working people's opposition before August 1980, and will not accept those plans, trends and activities that forced many activists and some members of Solidarity to positions of struggle against the socialist state.

II. The committee takes the view that self-governing trade unions, which are independent of the administration and the state employer and are a universal platform for helping run the country, constitute the necessary element for the development of socialist democracy and for countering manifestations of red tape in governing bodies.

Protecting employee interests is a great duty of the trade union movement. The high social status of the trade union movement will be maintained only when its views are taken into serious consideration in matters concerning working people's working and living conditions. The trade union movement must have the right to obtain the necessary government information in order to be able to take a position on the socioeconomic plans and on other economic and social decisions made by the state and economic administrative bodies -- decisions important for the working people. The trade union movement should negotiate with the employers on the principles of employment and promotion, the working conditions, the size of wages and the way in which the wage fund should be distributed.

Trade unions should be partners of the employers and of the workers self-management groups. The idea of constructive and partnerlike cooperation should be the basis of relations between the bodies of power and the trade union movement.

In order to be able to express its views and to base them on the true opinions of the workers class, the trade union movement should enjoy the possibilities for conducting independent research and analyses, should possess its own press and should use the mass media.

The trade unions in factories should discharge a number of new functions relating to initiative, consultations, control and self-help in the following spheres: social, living, housing, cultural and educational conditions; the systems of moral and material honors; the safety and hygiene of work; the legal protection for employees; and the accumulation and distribution of the wage fund. This should help increase the status and role of trade union organizations in factories.

In line with the assumption of the economic reform, many functions now held by the state employer will be taken over by the workers self-management groups. This will call for verifying a number of legal and practical solutions concerning the relationship among the administration, the workers self-management groups and trade unions.



III. Honest and well organized work is the only way to achieve higher living standards for the nation and each citizen. Action in the interest of effective work is now the primary task of every patriotic force of our people. That is why efforts to promote good and honest work is a great duty of the trade union movement. The functions involving care for man and for the results of his labors as well as for the distribution of the results of work and for the effective ways of organizing work should constitute a single function.

While combining those functions, the trade union movement should serve the idea of rallying the Poles around the settlement of our generation's most important social and economic problems by their own efforts. Its activity must not contribute toward the political disunity of society, toward anarchy and tensions, or toward the pursuit of a policy against the socialist system.

In the current decade, the continuation of socialist renewal is a common goal for Poles, and the sovereign socialist state is for them a common good. All citizens develop and consolidate that state by our will and efforts. The feeling of our safety, our material living conditions and our national existence depend on the state's strength and efficiency in action. It is our duty to guarantee those values through the attitudes of the citizens, and through the activity of public and political organizations. That duty also burdens the trade union movement.

IV. The right to participate in decisionmaking is closely linked with joint responsibility. That is why the committee feels that, while beginning the discussion on the form of the trade union movement, we must primarily specify legal and political conditions to guarantee that supreme interest of the socialist state. Fundamental conditions have also been set forth in the social accords of August 1980. The points of particular concern are:

- The communal property of production means is recognized,
- The trade union movement strictly respects the legal order in the state, respects the principles of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, and recognizes the leading role of the PZPR in society and its guiding role in the state,
- The trade union movement recognizes the international alliances of the Polish People's Republic, acts to strengthen them, and conducts international activity in line with the principles of Poland's foreign policy,
- The statutory principles, the organizational structure and the activity of the trade union movement must provide guarantees that it will be a real trade union movement, not pretending to play the role of a political party.

V. The talks held hitherto with representatives of all currents in the trade union movement in Poland and the experience gathered in the past and in recent months have brought to the foreground the following political and organizational premises, whose implementation should be a condition for resuming trade union activity:

- Clear statutory principles must be provided to make it impossible to use the trade union movement for antisocialist political activity, or to use the legal signboard of a trade union to conceal the activity of illegal counterrevolutionary antistate organizations.
- All employees should be able to enjoy full trade union rights. The principle of voluntary affiliation with a trade union should be observed. However, taking into account the specific character of labor and the kind of official obligations, the committee -- in line with ILO conventions allowing for such a possibility -- recognizes the principle that some groups of employees may be exempted from affiliating with trade unions. This in particular applies to the personnel of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, of enterprises and institutions subordinated to the latter, and other groups of state employees, in particular state administration cadres, judges and prosecutors. The rights of the latter group of employees should be guaranteed in another legal way.

-- The rights of the citizens to join trade unions, legally defined, as well as the prerogatives and clearly specified obligations of the trade union movement should be in line with the principle that the trade union movement expresses the trade and social interests of employees.

The restored trade union movement, no matter what organizational form it assumes, should join working people irrespective of their personal views and world outlook.

Trade interests are common for working people doing the same job. They alone can provide a condition for establishing a trade union. Practice shows that centralized trade unions whose basic cells are regions, which are thus based on a territorial structure, tend to disregard workers' affairs at the expense of the working people's basic interests. The territorial structure is suitable for political activity, and not for the protection of the interests of branch employees in a trade group, because the working people are linked by the common kind or common purpose of their work.

The right of various social groups to form self-managing organizations of farmers, craftsmen and so forth is one of the principles of a democratic state. The representation of the interests of those trades should be harmonized in character with the kind of ownership of production means, with labor specifics, with association traditions and with international law.

The draft act on trade unions, which should be passed by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, offers all basic guarantees claimed by the workers class for the self-governing character and independence of the trade union movement. The draft act provides for preserving the right to strike as an extreme measure. However, strikes should only be permissible when all other means are exhausted to protect workers' rights and to settle the conflict by talks and mediation. The strike weapon must not be abused, must not be applied hastily and on any occasion. There must be no room for political strikes. Strikes should imply the responsibility either of the enterprise manager and supervisors who permitted the conflict as a result of their incompetence or bad will, or of the strike organizers who applied the extreme measure without grounds for it.

The act on trade unions should settle the manner of paying for strikes, the situation where strikers were maintained by those who worked and where striking was materially as advantageous as regular work must not be repeated.

-- The socialist state is not indifferent to what trade union centers abroad the Polish trade union movement cooperates with. Trade unions acting under the socialist system must not associate with political forces and trade union centers hostile to socialist Poland.

In 37 years, the trade union movement in Poland has attained appreciable material achievements. In the present discussion we must see to it that those achievements are not wasted. What is meant in this respect are sanatoriums and health resorts, as well as the tested and justified forms of daily social activity for the benefit of workers collectives.

VI. After August 1980, the Polish trade union movement was split up. The reasons for this are known, but they are often presented in a false light. We should appreciate the attitude of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions, which did not give up defending workers interests during this difficult period and at the same time took care not to worsen the chaos and avoided strikes destructive to the economy. The Autonomous Unions displayed many useful initiatives.

The summer of 1980 brought important new trends and phenomena to union life. Solidarity arose from the tide of events during this year. Working people placed their trust in the newly-formed union, placing many hopes and expectations in it. However, its leadership soon stopped concerning itself with union activity and began to impose on Solidarity a formula for political opposition, whose destructive activity made anarchy out of the life of the country and became a contradiction to the real interests of the working people.

However, it is difficult to burden the rank and file members of Solidarity and all its permanent employees with responsibility for this. Responsibility for distorting the nature of the union and breaking the August agreements will be carried, above all, by those Solidarity leaders and those organizers of hostile political groups, as well as their numerous advisers and experts, who took control over particular Solidarity leadership cells and began to exert more and more influence over the way the union's policy of hooliganism was taking shape. Many people acted emotionally, while others did not take enough care. This chapter must be closed. No one can be discriminated against or, what is worse, punished just because he belonged to a legally functioning trade union, whichever one it was, or for being active in accordance with the statute and the law.

The members of every union are taking advantage of their right to speak out during the current talks over the future of the union movement and its rebuilding in a way that will enable it to effectively serve the interests of workers and not the interests of the enemies of socialism. The road to public activity is open to everyone who sincerely wants to act for the good of the workers class and of the workers in his own plant or factory. However, there can be no return to this activity for people known for their destructive attitude.

After August 1980, union activity became the first social experience for thousands of young people. Their uncompromising attitude, critical judgement and good intentions contributed toward many positive changes in our country. But at the same time, the lack of experience and the zeal in many of them were exploited by opponents of socialism. We must not let this first experience leave a feeling of defeat and disappointment in the minds of the younger generation. The committee expresses its conviction that the valuable characteristics of the younger generation will be fully utilized in the difficult daily battle for a better tomorrow for Poland, in the union movement as well.

VII. The future of the reborn trade union movement in our country will be decided in the factories, institutions and enterprises. The imposition of prepared organizational formulas on the working people is contrary to the concept of socialist legality and democracy. The imposition of prepared organizational formulas on the working people is contrary to the concept of socialist legality and democracy. The committee listens attentively to the voice of those who create national wealth and by their work contribute toward leading the country out of crisis.

We favor creative, sober discussions conducted in conditions of calm and respect for the law. Calm is an essential condition for achieving constructive solutions. Every participant in the talks should speak on his own behalf and with his own voice. The voices of avowed enemies of socialism and of those who showed that they were supporters of confrontation are not needed for any purpose. Every voice of an honest working person should sound loud and clear in this discussion.

#### TELEVISION EXAMINES FUTURE TRADE UNIONISM

LD242334 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Now we return to domestic matters: the matter of trade unionism. A nationwide public discussion on the form of the trade union movement in our country is going on.

Every day brings reports on the progressing sociopolitical normalization in the country. Eventually martial law is going to be lifted as well. One of the key moments will be the issue of restoring the trade unions activities.

Proposals for a discussion on this matter have been made. They do not propose specific solutions and their selection is determined by the wishes of the working class. They do, on the other hand, define a specific political and legal framework for trade unionism.

It is important here to accept the socialist nature of the state on the one hand; to accept the leading role of the PZPR and to respect the constitutional order as well as the international alliances -- in other words trade unions must be trade unions. They cannot pretend to play the role of a political party. On the other hand, however, it is important to guarantee fullrights for the trade unions in order to protect the trade movement against any forms of seeking power so that they might defend the rights, interests and due privileges of a worker and so that they can fight for respect for the right to work and its safe conditions and for justice in allocating production tasks and remuneration.

There are thus thousands of matters waiting for the future trade unions to solve, certainly less glamorous than the proclamations of strikes but matters determining the existence, health and dignity of the worker. The issue of the future trade unions is a problem of fundamental political significance for our country.

This cannot be a solution from before August 1980 and attempts to return to a situation as that before 13 December can produce nothing but misfortune. The first suggestions and voices of workers are already appearing in the press. The majority of them are in agreement as regards two matters: that the trade unions cannot be a political party, and second that the industrial [brenzowy] structure is an organizational form which is innate to them. One can expect that there will soon be many of these joint settlements. They appear to be obvious but they require widespread and general discussion. They require social agreement -- agreement for the sake of the well-being and development of the socialist country.

#### ARMY PAPER LINKS SOLIDARITY WITH TROTSKYITES

LD241456 Warsaw PAP in English 1411 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Feb (PAP) -- ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today disclosed the links which existed between the Solidarnosc union and the Trotskyist Revolutionary League of Workers' Poland, the Polish section of the so-called Fourth International. "Activists of the Revolutionary League treated Solidarnosc, or at least its leadership, as its own, Trotskyist organization," ZOLNIERZ said. The League provided inspiration and encouragement for the Solidarnosc congress coming up with its provocative message to people in Eastern Europe, while the League's message to the Solidarnosc National Commission's Presidium session in Radom in early December 1981 said the time had come for an armed clash between the union and what it termed the completely disintegrated parasite bureaucracy.

ZOLNIERZ traced down the origin of what it called a peculiar alliance between Solidarnosc and the leftist extreme within the Fourth International, and said the International's first attempts to find supporters in Poland date back to 1957, when Karol Modzelewski, a prospective KOR [Workers' Defense Committee] leader, went to Rome for talks with the International's secretary, Livio Maltani. This resulted in permanent contacts between the International and a group of the so-called commandos, who made their name in the 1968 developments in Poland under the leadership of Karol Modzelewski, Jacek Kuron, and Adam Michnik, all prospective KOR leaders.

A Spanish subject who came to Poland last September 13 as the Fourth International's envoy to the Solidarnosc congress was identified by Poland's security service as Stefan Bekier, one of the commandos who went into exile following the developments of March, 1968, ZOLNIERZ said. Bekier presented to the Solidarnosc congress a document which said it was the Revolutionary League which inspired the Solidarnosc message to people in Eastern Europe, the paper declared. "The Trotskyist envoy came to Poland to guide the Solidarnosc towards a more active and more determined fulfillment of the mission laid down by the Fourth International."



PAPER, INK SMUGGLED IN WITH AID PACKAGES

LD241450 Warsaw PAP in English 1422 GMT 24 Feb 82

["Untypical Gifts" — PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Feb (PAP) — Paper and printing ink destined for the production of illegal publications are being smuggled into Poland in some transports of food and clothes sent from Western countries as gift for the Polish people.

On February 19 customs officers examining 740 parcels of food and clothing dispatched by two Swedish firms found 16,500 sheets of printing paper and 21 cans of printing ink weighing 19.5 kilograms.

The paper and the ink have been confiscated.

HUNGARY ANNOUNCES WAIVER OF PART OF DEBT

LD242332 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Hungary announced today that it was waiving payment of the debt which Poland had incurred for the purchase of additional articles imported at the turn of the year. This announcement came at the end of a meeting between Deputy Prime Ministers Ozdowski of Poland and Marjai of Hungary. They jointly chaired a session of the Polish-Hungarian Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation during which the need to expand industrial cooperation and to coordinate economic plans was stressed.

R25 Million Remitted

LD251030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Summary] In Budapest yesterday the deputy premiers of Poland and Hungary, Jerzy Ozdowski and Jozsef Marjai, signed a protocol summing up the results of the debates of the 19th session of the Polish-Hungarian Permanent Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation. Special stress was laid on coproduction and specialization; the subject of the utilization of the free productive forces in Polish industry was also touched on. To this end cooperation between selected enterprises in the two countries will rapidly be taken up. In the current year, trade turnover between the two countries will grow by 6 percent compared with last year. The need to speed up the realization of concluded contracts was pointed out. By the end of April this year a separate agreement is to be concluded regarding investment outlays [prace nakladcza] by Polish small-scale production for the Hungarian economy. The possibility of coordinating plans for this year and for the years 1983-85 was also considered. The talks in Budapest also concerned additional supplies to Poland of goods not covered by the trade protocol, as well as the balancing of Poland's negative payments balance. It was officially reported that as a result of the Hungarian Government's decision, Polish debts amounting to R25 million for supplies of goods have been remitted.

RAKOWSKI CONSIDERS ROLE OF RENEWED POLITYKA

AU241519 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 20 Feb 82 p 1

[Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski article: "The Bridge Has Not Been Blown Up"]

[Text] After an interval of more than 2 months, POLITYKA is returning to the stage of the country's political life, on which it has been acting for more than 24 years. It is returning under the circumstances of martial law which has put an end to the progressive anarchy in socioeconomic life and to the growing chaos, and deprived antisocialist forces of the possibility to act. To save the existence of the nation and the state, martial law has imposed rigors unknown to the Poles before 13 December.

Those rigors have also affected the mass media, which are now reviving week after week. We are convinced that, faithful to POLITYKA, readers will welcome the weekly's issue which is the first since 13 December.

Martial law has both its internal logic and its own dramatism, that has been manifested not only in its external forms -- military and militia patrols, curfews and the suspension (but only suspension!) of trade unions and of many other organizations, the restriction of civil rights and the internment of several thousand people, but also -- and perhaps primarily -- in the sphere of feelings, emotions and thought. That sphere, statistically indefinable, involves the daily attitudes of millions of Poles, their relationship to the authorities, to the existing rigors, to work and to the ways out of the socioeconomic crisis. Those attitudes vary from stout resistance to the martial law imposed to its acceptance, from the reluctance to engage in matters of general national importance to full activity aimed at implementing the program for socioeconomic reforms outlined by Premier General Wojciech Jaruzelski in his speech on 13 December 1981. In our articles and reports, our team will highlight the lines of that program. Many problems of public importance require a closer analysis, a second look free from the spirit of auctioneering and demagogic hubbub.

In our journalistic activity, we have never disregarded the feelings and attitudes of our readers, numbering more than a million. No opinion -- not even the one that we regarded as incorrect or simply wrong -- was thrown into the waste paper basket, but was taken into account, forced us to think, to consider the variety of feelings and attitudes. We shall remain loyal to that principle both now and in the future.

As in the past, in the new political situation in the country we will continue the periodical's traditional line: adherence to the realities, to the facts and a businesslike spirit. We will provide conditions for a lasting national accord.

Materials published in the periodical between August 1980 and 13 December 1981 certainly require a businesslike and critical analysis, because no single article published at that time hit the "bull's-eye." There were also materials from a wrong evaluation of the disposition of forces, materials written under the pressure of emotions which pushed reason to the background. Has the time come for such an analysis? It has, but -- in line with the spirit and the letter of the decisions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress -- that task should primarily be entrusted to the team and the readers.

A critical evaluation of the past is necessary, but we do not want to remain in the past. What matters to us and, we think, to our readers are our future lives, both individual and collective. What matters is the future of Poland, the future of our state. We refuse to endorse both the "no" attitude and the slogan: "The Worse, the Better."

Poland, our wonderful homeland, lives and must live. We aspire to alleviate and enrich our public life, to look, along with the readers, for solutions strengthen socialism. Indeed, strengthening socialism because it is the future of the world, notwithstanding the mistakes and errors with their tragic effects.

We have never issued the periodical on the mere basis of our own forces. Even in very difficult periods -- just to mention the year 1968 and the first months after December 1970 -- we were backed by a body of authors. We call on them and want their voice to be as audible as our voice, of the professionals. We want POLITYKA to be a periodical of dialogue, a meeting platform for various generations, we want it to contribute toward consolidating rationalist and humane attitudes. In winning authors, we will be guided by the idea voiced from the Sejm platform by the chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation: "We will not ask anybody where he comes from, as long as he honestly helps put in order and reconstruct our common home."

What should fill the periodical's columns are not sterile polemics and loud cries, but a businesslike debate on the republic.

I do not regard the imposition of martial law as an act of blowing up a bridge on the road that ends at an abyss. That was a grave road accident. We can and must emerge from it. That is imperative to the national interest.

#### MILITIA RELEASES LETTER ON COLLEAGUE'S DEATH

LD250733 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Members of Warsaw's voluntary reserve unit of the Citizens' Militia have passed on to PAP the following letter:

Deeply shocked by the vile murder of our comrade, Senior Sergeant Zdislaw Karo, and joining his family in mourning, we affirm our belief that this deed is an attempt on the whole of society and is all the more threatening because it was carried out under conditions of martial law. Acting arm in arm with the Citizens' Militia, we will continue to fight for law and order in our state, and we will make all efforts to assist in apprehending the criminal. In shooting at a guardian of order, he shot at us. We reaffirm that terrorists and bandits have no chance in socialist Poland. They will be apprehended and punished with the full severity of the law.

#### CHURCH PERIODICALS TO RESUME PUBLICATION

LD250944 Warsaw PAP in English 0845 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Feb (PAP) -- A decision has been taken to resume the publication of several periodicals connected with the Roman Catholic Church.

It has been decided to resume the publication of 15 magazines of other churches and religions and 13 magazines of lay Catholics' associations.

#### PAX BOARD ADOPTS DOCUMENT, SUSPENDS MEMBERS

LD241454 Warsaw PAP in English 1414 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Feb (PAP) -- The Presidium of the Main Board of the Pax Association, a social organization of lay Catholic activists, at its meeting on February 24 took a stand towards the present socio-political situation in Poland, Pax Association daily SLOWO POWSZECHNE said. The stand was articulated in an extensive document entitled "At a Turning Point" which was published today by SLOWO POWSZECHNE.

As a starting point for its current tasks the Pax Association takes the view that for Poland today there is no return to the situation prior to either last December 13 or August 1980. Martial law has put an end to processes of disintegration of Polish economy and anarchization of all fields of life, and thereby ushered in a period of seeking new political solutions. Being a lesser evil than threats to material bases of the national existence and even the spectre of civil war, that law alone, however, cannot bring lasting solutions to our difficulties, said the document passed yesterday by the Pax authorities.

"We are of the opinion that the faster the stabilization of life in the country and the quieting down of tensions, the faster the conditions will appear for lifting martial law and starting a bold programme of socialist renewal. Sharing that conviction we want to be an active factor in both restoring peace and normal rhythm of work and accelerating future political solutions based on the idea of accord and national rebirth," the document said.

The document also observed that Poland's future can be constructed today only on the basis of the principle of a critical continuation of the socialist system and power in alliance and cooperation with other socialist states and with regard to the existing realities of the politically and militarily divided world.

The communique published in SLOWO POWSZECHNE says that the Pax presidium suspended membership rights for half a year for 21 persons including members of the Main Board and Auditory Commission.

Ryszard Reiff, ex-chairman of the Pax Main Board is among those whose membership rights are suspended.

The suspended persons are charged with forcing a harmful ideological and political line contrary to the Pax's assumptions and opposing the present ideological and political line of the association.

#### MINISTER REPORTS ON HIGHER EDUCATION STATUTE

LD242304 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Professor Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science, higher education and technology, has been chairing meetings which lasted 2 days of lectors of institutes of higher education which are subordinate to this ministry. The minister reported about the status of the draft statute on higher education and about the draft statutes on scientific institutions. He presented matters connected with the verification of research programs from the point of view of their usefulness for the economy and culture. He also discussed issues pertaining to the work of institutes of higher education under martial law. Taking part in the deliberations was Major General Professor Edward Wlodarczyk, plenipotentiary of the Committee of National Defense.

Minister Miskiewicz says that there will be a modification of the system for appointing assistant professors, that principles will be formulated for employing graduates, and that the principles governing the functioning of grants will be changed.

#### INCREASE IN GRAIN CROP PROCUREMENT REPORTED

LD242224 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] According to a PAP report, a certain increase in the procurement of grain crops is now being registered. At present this procurement amounts to about 8,000 tons daily. For the sake of comparison, farmers would supply no more than half this amount in January. This is still not enough to meet our needs but one must accept with some measure of hope the news that there is now a clear increase in the supply of grain crops. The agency also stresses that the grain loan is slowly gaining acceptance among farmers.

Data For Jan-Feb

LD240952 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] A session of the Council of the Central Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives is to be held. Of course, the problem of fulfilling the country's food requirements will be at the top of the agenda.

The cooperative members, who farm a total area of about 4.2 percent of the country's arable land, last year delivered among other things nearly 12 percent of the national grain crop production, more than 11 percent of the livestock -- including 37 percent of poultry livestock -- and 7.5 percent of the fruit and vegetable preserves.

While we are on agricultural matters, a few words about the current state of grain procurement: up to yesterday the procurement points received over 1.63 million tons of grain for consumption from last year's harvest. In January the farmers sold to the state 120,000 tons of grain crops and during the 3 weeks of February these deliveries came to approximately 110,000 tons.

According to reports, agricultural producers sell to the state almost 8,000 tons of grain crops a day. This is a certain growth but the requirements are still much larger.



It is heartening that in February procurement became more active in such voivodships as Ciechanow, Czestochowa and Lublin, in which the fulfillment of plan for contracted grain crop deliveries was the lowest.

#### PAN RAPS WESTERN REPORTAGE OF EVENTS

LD242250 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2120 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] The image of Poland in the world is materially shaped by foreign journalists' reports on what is going on in the country. It often depends on their good or bad will whether a truthful or false picture of the situation emerges. This was the subject of the conversation between a PAP reporter and Jerzy Urban government press spokesman recently, including among other things the militia action under the codename calm. This action was aimed, as you will remember, mainly against profiteers, burglars and so on. It was reported in the West that the action amounted to a wave of political arrests. Another slanderous fabrication was the report about the arrests of priests in Poland. Unfortunately, after these matters had been elucidated, no corrections appeared in the Western press. This is what the love of truth -- the virtue the Western press is so proud of -- looks like in practice, Jerzy Urban told the PAP reporter.

#### TRYBUNA LUDU: POLAND NOT ISOLATED BY 'PRESSURE'

LD230950 Warsaw PAP in English 0842 GMT 23 Feb 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Feb (PAP) -- "We have seen two months of the concentrated pressure exerted by the U.S. Government on the international community to isolate Poland from it and to condemn and punish Poland for her efforts to solve her crisis in a way contrary to the U.S. wishes and interests.

"Despite a deafening propaganda, the balance-sheet of this action is not too favourable for the United States and certainly far from living up to the U.S. expectations," TRYBUNA LUDU said.

"The attempt to break off the Madrid session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe because of the 'the Polish question' has fizzled out.

"The attempts to disturb the U.N. debates and to poison the international atmosphere with the alleged 'Polish issue' do not meet there with a response desired by the United States.

"This year, Poland's representative, Ambassador Eugeniusz Wyzner, was elected chairman of the important disarmament commission. The appointment of a Pole to perform a leading function at the main U.N. organ for disarmament, one of the world's foremost problems today, testifies not only to the recognition for Poland's attainments and initiatives in this area, by voting for a representative of the Government of Socialist Poland, one hundred and fifty states underlined their confidence in exactly this and no other Poland, in Poland whose policy, as emphasized by General Jaruzelski, has remained invariable after December 13, 1981," wrote TRYBUNA LUDU.

#### DAILY VIEWS 'NATIONAL FEATURES' OF SOCIALISM

AU241444 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Feb 82 p 2

[Jerzy J. Wiatr article: "The National Features of the Road to Socialism"]

[Excerpts] What has been taking place in Poland for the past several months brings to mind once again the importance of the Leninist principle in line with which every nation's road to socialism must always make allowances for that nation's special situation, traditions and economic and social structure.

"As long as there are national and state differences between nations and countries," Lenin wrote -- "and such differences will continue for a very, very long time even after proletarian dictatorship has been established -- the unity of the international tactics of the communist workers movement [komunistycznego ruchu robotniczego] of all countries makes it necessary not to eliminate plurality and to abolish national differences... but to apply the basic principles of communism (soviet power and proletarian dictatorship) in such a way as to correctly modify these principles in their details and to adapt them the right way to the national and national-state differences."

The Polish Workers Party tried to follow just that line when it laid down the theoretical principles of the Polish road to socialism. The sectarian-dogmatic shift accomplished by the August-September plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in 1948 and intensified by the Third PZPR Plenum in November 1948 arrested that policy for some time and branded its sponsors by falsely accusing them of "rightwing-nationalist deviations." Although the Eighth PZPR Plenum in 1956 and the Third PZPR Congress in 1959 refuted that accusation, the issue of finding for Poland the best road to socialism in line with Polish national conditions has never been analyzed.

Such an analysis is a must. There must be an analysis of the application in Poland of the universal laws and experience of other countries and an analysis of the conclusions stemming from the Polish national specifics. To me such analyses are some of the most crucial tasks in the sphere of the Marxist-Leninist theory in our country.

Above all we must thoroughly analyze the experience of other socialist countries in order to discover the universal laws of socialist construction that should be observed in Poland. The practice to date of the Polish ideological apparatus has been marked only too frequently by two false and harmful attitudes. One involved the mechanical acceptance of the thesis that all solutions tried out elsewhere would automatically fit in with Polish conditions. That acceptance was especially glaring in the 1948-55 dogmatic policy, but it was repeated later on as well. There are also reasons for asserting that during the 1980-81 crisis some party members again tried to look for dogmatic-sectarian solutions in defiance of our national specifics, especially the Poles' political consciousness. The fiasco of the dogmatic solutions gave birth in the mid-fifties to revisionist trends, which rejected outright the experience of other countries and denied the existence of universal laws of socialist construction. The champions of such views generally wanted to import into Poland foreign models devised by the political system of bourgeois democracy. During the following 25 years many such revisionists wholly abandoned socialism and Marxism and committed themselves to anticommunism in the country or abroad, which does not mean that the revisionist threat within the party itself has disappeared. Revisionism always rears its head during periods of particularly acute political struggles. That is why predetermined struggle against the dogmatic and revisionist deformations of Marxism is a most important issue.

That struggle can be effective only if we carry out an in-depth analysis of the universal and specifically national features of socialist construction in Poland. The following issues are involved in particular:

1. We must again analyze in an objective and profoundly scientific way the development stages of socialist society in Poland against the background of the development trends of socialism in other countries.
2. We must analyze the distinctive features of the road along which the socialist system of our country has developed -- the war-and-revolution road marked by the great influence of international factors. I think that the rigid theoretical thinking in our country has been responsible for the fact that the conclusions drawn from the special features of that road for the balance of political forces, for the state of social awareness and for the methods of socialist construction have not been sufficiently profound. The countries of people's democracy, in which the conditions for power takeover had been determined by the Soviet Union's historic victory over fascism, found themselves in a different situation than revolutionary Russia, which had overthrown capitalism by itself. That is why the development feature in question is true not only of Poland, but of the entire group of countries in central-eastern Europe, and as such it requires not so much a historical description as a thorough theoretical analysis.

3. The third crucial task is to analyze the consequences of the Polish historical background and of the Polish people's psychological features for the ways in which socialist power as well as citizens act.

4. Point 3 is linked to the fourth theoretical issue: the influence of Polish Catholicism. No other socialist country has such a strong and homogeneous Catholic community as ours, and this issue cannot be ignored in the sphere of theory. The issue must be examined theoretically, because there is no doubt that the strength of Polish Catholicism has had and will have a crucial influence on the development of the relations between the Marxist-Leninist party of the workers class and the masses and on the functioning of the state.

5. The fifth theoretical issue is the high incidence of conflict in our development to date. The recurring political tensions and crises harassing our country require in-depth analyses as attested to by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The aforementioned theoretical issues certainly do not exhaust all the aspects of the matter in question. The theoretical work the ideological apparatus will have to search for answers to the aforementioned and other issues so that searching for the best road to socialism, one that fits in with the Polish conditions and the wishes of our people, becomes a permanent feature of our policy.

#### FRG'S WEHNER HOLDS TALKS ON 4-DAY VISIT

Meets Czyrek, Rakowski

LD201732 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Herbert Wehner, leader of the SPD grouping in the West German Bundestag, who is visiting Poland, was received today by Politburo member, Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek. During the meeting, views were exchanged on current topics of mutual interest, including issues of bilateral relations between Poland and the FRG. They also discussed some aspects of the current international situation.

Today Herbert Wehner also had a meeting with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and then, at the Sejm, with a group of deputies headed by Deputy Speaker Andrzej Werblan.

Meets Government Officials

LD191930 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] At the invitation of the chairman of the PZPR Deputies' Club, Kazmierz Barcikowski, the Chairman of the SPD Bundestag group Herbert Wehner arrived in Poland for a fact-finding visit of a few days. It is envisaged that during his visit there will be meetings and talks with the main representatives of supreme state and party authorities. This morning Herbert Wehner was received by Speaker of the Sejm Stanislaw Gucwa. During the afternoon, in the building of the PZPR Central Committee, talks were held with the visit's host, Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, and following this with Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the central committee.

Further on Meetings

LD201856 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Excerpts] The leader of the SPD party in the West German Bundestag, Herbert Wehner, today was received by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs.

The meeting Wehner had with Rakowski and Werblan was attended by leader of the ZSL party, Boleslaw Struzek, and leader of the SD, Jan Fajeczki, as well as representative of the parliamentary circles of the Christian Social Association, Kazimierz Morawski; Pax Christian organization representative Janusz Stefanowicz; Polish Catholic-Social Union representative Janusz Zablocki; and deputies Jozef Barecki, Zbigniew Gertych, Janusz Szymanowski, Ryszard Wojna, Stanislaw Wronski, Witold Lipski and Wojciech Zukrowski.

#### Concludes Visit

LD221712 Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Feb (PAP) -- At the end of his visit to Warsaw, SPD Bundestag Floor Leader Herbert Wehner, one of the most outstanding politicians in the Federal Republic of Germany had a lengthy talk with Prime Minister Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. Present at the talk was West German Ambassador to Poland Georg Negwer.

Discussed was a wide range of problems concerning key international issues and relations between Poland and the Federal Republic. Herbert Wehner got acquainted with the developments in Poland and their international ramifications.

The talk with Gen Jaruzelski was for the West German guest a summing up of his four busy days in Warsaw, where he had met with many senior party and state officials. Herr Wehner had also held unofficial talks. The meetings he had here were marked by a good atmosphere, and the discussions were characterized by frankness and a businesslike attitude.

Both sides agreed that the visit is going to be of vital and long-range importance. In the course of the talks, much attention was paid to both countries' attitude towards the policy of detente and cooperation, particularly in Europe. The policy in question cannot be substituted by any other reasonable variant of actions, it was found. The policy of confrontation is deeply in conflict with the interests of nations and provides no prospects for the future. In this context the sides stressed the harmfulness of attempts to make an instrumental use of Poland's domestic hardships for inflaming the international situation. The Polish side learned with satisfaction the opinion that a significant proportion of political forces and an overwhelming majority of West German society are against economic restrictions on Poland.

The stand was expressed during the talks that relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, both because of history and their contemporary significance for Europe, cannot be approached with just and short-term interests in mind, they should be based on permanent foundations, and shaped consistently in keeping with the spirit of the treaty of December 7, 1970, with a view to genuine agreement for the good of the two nations and Europe in mind.

The sides critically appraised these opinions on Polish affairs which ignore these supreme values. The talks revealed the concordance of opinions that Poland should be and is able to solve her present difficulties on her own. A common conviction was voiced that to attain stability and successful development of Poland it is indispensable to undertake normal cooperation and to refrain from propaganda and political pressure as well as to desist from interfering in her internal affairs.

#### BRIEFS

MEAT DELIVERY DELAYED -- [No dateline received] Meat which was recently brought from China by Polish Ocean Lines ships cannot leave the Port of Gdynia because of a lack of dry ice, which is essential for further transport of the meat by rail into the country. It has been possible to unload only 400 tons from the Moniuszko and Szymanowski over the last several days. [Text] [Warsaw PAP Maritime Service in Polish 1200 GMT 24 Feb 82 LD]



USSR CHEMISTRY MINISTER LISTOV ARRIVES FOR TALKS

Received By Dinca, Others

AU201542 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Comrade Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, today received Vladimir Listov, minister of the chemical industry of the USSR, who is visiting our country. During the meeting, the sides expressed satisfaction at the good relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries, and stressed the decisive role played by agreements reached during high level meetings and talks for deepening and diversifying these relations, to the benefit of both countries and peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace in the world. The sides also discussed issues concerning ways and means to expand Romanian-Soviet economic cooperation and to develop mutual trade exchanges.

Talks also took place today between Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of the chemical industry, and Vladimir Listov, USSR minister of the chemical industry. On this occasion, the sides reviewed the achievements attained in Romanian-Soviet cooperation and collaboration in the chemical industry, and pointed out new ways and means for their expansion.

A protocol was also signed on intensifying scientific-technical cooperation and exchanges of chemistry materials, to the benefit of both countries and peoples.

The Soviet minister also met with Ioan Avram, minister of the machine-building industry. During the talk, the sides discussed issues of mutual interest.

Meets Ceausescu

AU221445 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania today received Vladimir Vladimirovich Listov, minister of the chemical industry of the USSR, who has been visiting our country.

The interview was attended by Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, and Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of chemical industry.

The guest conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu warm congratulations and best wishes on behalf of the party and state leadership of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Government.

In his turn, Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed warm greetings and best wishes to the Soviet party and state leadership on his own behalf and on behalf of the Romanian party and state leadership.

The sides emphasized with satisfaction the fruitful bilateral cooperation in economic, scientific-technical and other areas, and stressed that this constitutes part and parcel of the close relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union. They also emphasized the good results obtained in cooperation in the area of chemical industry. Both sides expressed the determination to identify new areas and means for further intensifying the cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union, as well as production sharing and other forms of cooperation aimed at finding new sources of energy, in accordance with the continuously increasing economic potential of the two countries, which permits superior forms of cooperation.

The sides expressed the view that intensifying the bilateral economic cooperation can contribute to building socialism and communism in Romania and the Soviet Union, to developing the traditional friendship between our countries and peoples, and to the general cause of peace and socialism.

The meeting proceeded in a warm and comradely atmosphere.

COMAN RECEIVES SALVADORAN COMMUNISTS 24 FEB

AU241954 Bucharest AGREPRES in English 1930 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Feb (AGERPRES) -- Ion Coman, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, received the delegation of the Communist Party of El Salvador, led by Ruben Sanchez, member of the Political Commission of the party, representative of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation and of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of Salvador, now on a visit to Romania.

Warm greetings were exchanged on the occasion between the RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu and the secretary-general of the Communist Party of El Salvador, Schafik Jorge Handal.

During the talks, information was exchanged on the current concerns of the two parties, the wish being expressed that, in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect, the friendly and cooperative relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of El Salvador develop continually.

Likewise, the Romanian communists', the Romanian people's militant solidarity was expressed with the people's forces in El Salvador that fight for national independence and sovereignty, for a free and dignified life, in accordance with the Salvadoran people's legitimate aspirations, without any outside immixture. During the interview, aspects of the international life were also approached.

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH PRC IN BEIJING

AU241955 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Beijing, 24 Feb (AGERPRES) -- On February 24 talks concluded in Beijing between Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Cornel Burtica, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Gu Mu, vice-premier of the State Council of the People's China, Zheng To Ubin, Chinese minister of foreign trade.

The same day the foreign trade ministers signed the protocol between the Government of Romania and the Government of the People's China concerning the exchange of goods and the payments for 1982.

The protocol stipulates the improvement of the bilateral trade exchanges in 1982, mentioning Romania to export oil equipment, diesel electrical locomotives, auto transportation means, equipment for computation technique, chemical stuffs, steel rolled goods, aluminium and other goods, and to import from China machine tools, electrical motors, apparatus for metal testing, tools, coke, nonferrous metals, chemical stuffs, textile products as well as other products of the light industry.

PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION VISITS MOSCOW

Met by Shitikov

AU222100 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] The Grand National Assembly [GNA] delegation led by Comrade Nicolae Giosan, candidate member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the GNA, arrived in Moscow today on an official friendship visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The delegation was met at the airport by Shitikov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council, Supreme Soviet deputies and other officials.

Talks began today between the GNA delegation led by Comrade Nicolae Giosan and the Supreme Soviet delegation led by Shitikov. Held in a warm and comradely atmosphere, the talks gave both sides an opportunity to emphasize their desire to further develop and diversify the many-sided relations of cooperation between Romania and the USSR, the good relations established in all areas of activity between our friendly parties, countries and peoples.

## Meets Kuznetsov

AU232034 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] The delegation of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] of the Socialist Republic of Romania led by Comrade Nicolae Giosan, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and GNA chairman, who is paying an official friendship visit to the USSR at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet, was received today by Vasilii Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

On behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the guest extended to Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium, warm and comradely greetings, wishes for personal health and happiness as well as wishes for new successes in his activity devoted to the prosperity of the USSR peoples, international detente and cooperation and peace throughout the world.

Thanking the guest for the message, Comrade Vasilii Kuznetsov asked him to extend to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and the party-state leadership of the Socialist Republic of Romania warm greetings of friendship and best wishes on behalf of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

During the talk held on this occasion, the sides emphasized the upward course of relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the USSR and the particular role devolving upon high-level Romanian-Soviet talks for developing these ties, to the benefit of the two neighboring and friendly countries. They also pointed out opportunities to further expand bilateral cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical and cultural fields. The two sides reviewed the good relations of cooperation between the legislative forums of Romania and the Soviet Union and their role in developing Romanian-Soviet friendship and cooperation as well as in the cooperation to resolve problems facing mankind today.

The GNA delegation also laid a wreath at the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Mausoleum and at the Tomb of the Unknown Hero.

FOREIGN MINISTER HAS TALKS IN SWITZERLAND

AU222102 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 22 Feb 82

["Telephone dispatch from Berne"]

[Text] In the course of his official visit to Switzerland, Comrade Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, met today with Pierre Aubert, vice president of the Swiss Confederation and minister of foreign affairs. At their first round of talks, held in an atmosphere of mutual esteem and cordiality, the two ministers examined the development of bilateral relations and expressed the conviction that the current visit will contribute to deepening the political dialogue and the economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation between the two peoples. The Swiss foreign minister recalled with satisfaction his visit to Romania in 1980 and his meeting with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The two sides stressed the fact that the many-sided bilateral cooperation is growing closer every passing year and reasserted the desire and determination of the two governments to impart a fresh and rapid rate of development to these relations, as well as to expand the mutually advantageous Romanian-Swiss cooperation in all areas.

STATE PRESIDENCY SESSION HELD ON DISARMAMENT

LD250020 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Feb (TANJUG) -- At a session chaired by Sergej Kraigher in Belgrade today, the SFRY Presidency discussed and endorsed the platform for Yugoslavia's activity in the field of disarmament.

The Presidency stressed that the arms race has assumed extremely dangerous proportions and that it represents a most direct threat to peace, security and the survival of mankind. It was emphasized, however, that the forces of peace, alarmed by this state of affairs, are resolutely resisting this development and that they are becoming more and more numerous and active. Their activity has led to the setting up of an important mechanism for international negotiations and has strengthened the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. Numerous proposals have been formulated on concrete disarmament measures, in which a particularly significant role has been played by nonaligned countries. It was particularly noted that there is a growing awareness among the world's broadest masses that disarmament is the only road to peace, security and better social conditions. However, despite these great efforts in the international field, practical results have regrettably failed to materialize. Attention was drawn to the responsibility borne by the great powers and the blocs for the arms race, which is an instrument and consequence of policy from positions of force and of the struggle for spheres of interest and consolidation of the blocs.

It was stressed at the session that international security and lasting peace can only be achieved by halting the arms race and that the general aim of disarmament should be greater security for all states at the lowest possible level of armament and balance of forces.

The Presidency stressed the real danger of nuclear weapons for the security and survival of mankind. At the same time it noted the acceleration in recent years of the conventional arms race, which, above all, is meant for military interventions against small and poorly armed countries, especially nonbloc ones. The need was stressed to halt the conventional arms race without delay and for simultaneous efforts to limit nuclear weapons.

The Presidency pointed with particular alarm at the negative effect of the arms race on the position of developing countries, which are compelled to arm themselves still further in the interest of their own security, thus reducing their already scant development potentials. It was stressed, on the other hand, that more substantial successes in the field of disarmament will lead to the freeing of significant financial resources and that channelling even a part of these resources toward the speedier development of developing countries will make a vital contribution to the consolidation of peace and stability in the world.

The Presidency stressed that the great powers, proceeding from the responsibility which they bear before mankind, should make the appropriate efforts needed to overcome the current crisis in the bilateral talks on disarmament. The existing setback should not discourage efforts within the international mechanism for negotiations on disarmament. Stress was laid on the significance of stepping up the work of the multilateral negotiating organs under the aegis of the United Nations on all unsolved questions of the ban on or reduction of individual kinds of armament. In this field, it is indispensable to continue to strengthen the role of the United Nations.

The Presidency paid particular attention to Yugoslavia's forthcoming activities in the field of disarmament. In this connection, it stressed the exceptional importance of the second special session on disarmament to be held by the UN General Assembly from 7 to 9 July this year, which should make a decisive contribution to the efforts being made to overcome the present unfavorable state of affairs and determine the future concrete measures aimed at achieving disarmament and consolidating international peace and security.



At the session it was also stressed that the seventh conference of the heads of state or government of nonaligned countries in September this year will provide an opportunity for the broadest affirmation of the unified approach by the nonaligned to the strategy and the most important topical questions of disarmament and international security and for the affirmation of the decisions and programs of action of the special session of the UN General Assembly. The conviction was also expressed that nonaligned countries should pay particular attention in this connection to practical measures which reflect their primary [word indistinct] interests and establish the ways and methods for the international action of the nonaligned with the aim of achieving a greater level of effectiveness of multinational talks on disarmament.

The deterioration of the political conditions in which the Madrid CSCE meeting is continuing was noted with concern. It was said that all the states taking part have an exceptional responsibility and obligation to overcome the confrontation and ensure a successful outcome of this meeting, that is, to preserve the positive results of the work up to now and ensure the continuity of the CSCE, the holding of a conference on disarmament in Europe being an integral part of it.

The question of transforming the Balkans into a nonnuclear zone was discussed in more detail and the bases and principled political approach of Yugoslavia was set out. It was emphasized that such a zone should act to strengthen the security of all states in the region, as well as that of Europe and the broader international sphere. It was emphasized that this assumes establishing relations between these states on the basis of full and equal mutual respect, sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in other countries' internal affairs, peaceful coexistence and a lasting orientation in favor of goodneighborly relations.

It was pointed out in particular that the transformation of the Balkans into a nonnuclear zone, free from threats of the use of nuclear arms from outside, at the same time requires a renunciation of the use of any kind of force or weapons against the independence and territorial integrity of the Balkan countries. This also assumes the continued strengthening and expansion of trust both between peoples in the Balkans and more widely in the world and the establishing of a broad zone of peace in neighboring regions.

In this context the Presidency noted the exceptional significance and the need for broader international activity aimed at transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation. It also emphasized that the promotion of relations and all forms of cooperation between the peoples and states of the Mediterranean, as well as the taking of specific measures to spread confidence and strengthen security, will make a meaningful contribution to overcoming crisis situations and eliminating existing flashpoints in this region.

The Presidency concluded that international activity aimed at disarmament can only be carried out successfully with the broadest involvement of all states and peoples of the world. The interests of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia also impose unambiguously the need for unified action by all organized forces of Yugoslav society with a view to promoting disarmament and strengthening international security.

The Presidency was acquainted with measures being taken to rationalize the work of the SFRY's diplomatic and consular offices abroad, in accordance with the economic stabilization policy being carried out by the whole of our society. The Presidency was also informed about actions being taken, with this aim in mind, in relation to our economic and trade representative offices abroad, as well about the state of the correspondents' network of our information media in foreign countries.

The plan of international visits by the SFRY Presidency for 1982 was accepted at the session.

The Presidency also discussed some other issues under its constitutional jurisdiction.

SOVIET DISCUSSION OF KATYN MASSACRE REPORTED

AU241630 [Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 23 February on page two carries a 900-word report from Moscow by Risto Bajalski reviewing the article on the question of the "death of 11,000 Polish officers in the Katyn forest near Smolensk during World War II" published by the journal VOYNOISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL, organ of the USSR Ministry of Defense, in its No 2 issue. According to Bajalski, the Soviet journal points out in its article that "it writes again about the 'Katyn affair' because recently and especially during the 1980-81 period of active anti-Sovietism in Poland, attempts have been made here and there abroad 'to revive' the Katyn events exclusively on an anti-Soviet basis and to interpret these events according to the 1943 Hitlerite version in order to once again cast a shadow over Soviet-Polish relations." In this connection Bajalski recalls that, according to that version, it was "the organs of the USSR People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs which, in the spring of 1940, allegedly shot more than 10,000 Polish officer prisoners of war in the Katyn forest near Smolensk." As Bajalski reports, the Soviet journal now cites the findings by a special Soviet commission which investigated the Katyn affair and established that all the Polish prisoners of war were captured by the advancing German Army in 1940 and executed by the German Army in September 1941.

HERLJEVIC CITED ON TIES WITH ALBANIA, BULGARIA

AU250926 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 82 p 6

[H. Muharemagic report]

[Excerpts] Vukosavci, 20 Feb -- Today in Vukosavci, the historical town on the Majevica mountain, a commemorative meeting was held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the death of nearly the entire staff of the first Majevica partisan detachment and the District Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party for Majevica, Semberija and Posavina. More than 15,000 working people and citizens arrived in Vukosavci for the occasion.

Franjo Herljevic, member of the LCY Central Committee and federal secretary for internal affairs, spoke at today's commemorative meeting in Vukosavci. Franjo Herljevic spoke about the resolute struggle of the League of Communists and all organized socialist forces to implement the economic stabilization measures. He pointed out in this connection:

"We continue to have economic and other problems which we must overcome with all determination and consistency. However, we must say that in this connection it is primarily in an irresolute and, at times, irresponsible attitude of some communities toward the economic stabilization measures, occurrences of regional and communal encapsulation, complacency and the like which cause us serious harm. We are unwilling to renounce unrealistic investments which undermine all our efforts for stabilization."

Franjo Herljevic, member of the LCY Central Committee, spoke further on our country's foreign relations and stressed, among other things, that very positive results have been achieved in relations with a majority of neighboring countries in a number of fields, but that, unfortunately, this cannot be said as regards relations with Albania. True, the official Albanian representatives continue to say they want good relations with Yugoslavia, but a gap between their words and deeds is obvious.

"On several occasions the Yugoslav side has repeated its readiness for cooperation and good-neighborly relations with Albania. We are in favor of cooperation on the basis of equality and in favor of mutual respect regardless of differences and of respect for sovereignty and noninterference in the internal affairs of either of the two countries. This has been and will continue to be the only real interest of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Albania. It is our aspiration to improve our relations with the People's Republic of Bulgaria and to solve the existing problems in these relations as early as possible," Herljevic said.

Concluding his speech today, Franjo Herljevic especially emphasized the importance and value of our togetherness.

DISCUSSION CONTINUES ON MEDIA ROLE, FREEDOM

## TANJUG Editor's Comments

LD171400 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 17 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (By TANJUG's editor Dragos Stojanovic) -- The role and activity of the press, radio and television is one of questions which these last days has been in the focus of attention of the Yugoslav public, which has already become accustomed to openly debate in a democratic atmosphere all problems regarding the development of self-management society. The constitutional right of citizens to be comprehensively, truly and in time informed was fully reaffirmed in that debate. It was unambiguously emphasized that this right must be carried out still more consistently.

Critical tones in the debate are directed to tendentious attempts of individuals to pass to the public in columns especially of illustrated reviews models of social development which Yugoslavia in its past irrevocably rejected. The target of criticism were trends which present the Yugoslav political system in a distorted manner and inaccurately, and offer models of social development "ranging from a dogmatic-bureaucratic version of socialism to bourgeois democracy and liberalism", as it was said at a joint session of the presidencies of the Central Committee of the League of Communists and of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia in Belgrade a few days ago. At the same time, political circles reject as tendentious objections that the aim of such debates is, allegedly, to place the press "in the dock".

In Yugoslavia the press is highly developed with 27 dailies, 11 newspapers issued several times a week, 161 weeklies, 241 fortnightlies, nearly one thousand monthlies and almost 1,500 periodicals. These figures do not include several thousand factory newspapers. In Yugoslavia there are also 191 republican, provincial and local radio stations and 9 TV-centres.

Commenting on the public debate on the press, Chairman of the Federal Parliament's Commission for Information Batric Jovanovic stated in his interview to the Belgrade weekly NIN that "progress cannot be made without criticism, but such criticism which rejects what hinders and proposes better self-management solutions". In the first decade of February the Council for the Press of the Federal Conference of Socialist Alliance, the largest Yugoslav organization, opened a public debate on these matters. The view was set forth that some newspapers, especially light-content magazines, carry articles with "dogmatic, centralistic and unitarian" characteristics. Those trends were assessed as an attempt to "leftist radicalism" and "petty bourgeoisie liberalism" to publicly appear.

The introductory report submitted at the joint session of the presidencies of the LC of Serbia Central Committee and the republican committee of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia on February 12 notes that the information media "have made important political and democratic achievements". The prevailing assessment is that the self-management and socialist orientation of editorial policy has never been brought into question in the majority of the Yugoslav information media, particularly the largest and most influential. It has been noted, however, that individuals who have repeatedly come into conflict with Yugoslavia's fundamental orientations and policy are publicly appearing in polemics conducted in certain publications.

The session resolutely condemned the way in which the subject of the break between Tito's Yugoslavia and the Cominform was sometimes treated. The break took place in 1949 when Yugoslavia rose up resolutely in defence of its independent path and, in so doing, clashed with Stalin. "Adherence to the Cominform positions then meant, and today means the betrayal of the country and the Yugoslav revolution. It was said at the session of the two presidencies. "For us", it was further said -- "this has never been a taboo subject, especially not today. But nothing may bring into question that fundamental fact and the historical assessment of the events of that period. The passage of time has fully corroborated that assessment both in Yugoslavia and in the international workers' movement".

In this climate, conducive to the deepening of self-management socialist democracy, and in conditions of pluralism of self-management interests, it is considered in Yugoslavia as logical and natural to encourage democratic dialogue, polemics and the expression of personal views in public and the open treatment of current social topics. Bearing in mind the dynamic nature of social development, political public opinion rejects the thesis that the press should be reduced to a "non-independent, non-creative factor, a mere transmission". On the other hand, the thesis that the press ought to exist as an "independent factor", detached from and even above and beyond the socialist self-management society and its trends, is equally rejected.

The report submitted at the two presidencies session sums up these views as follows: Our political system, which was created in an authentic revolution, continues to oppose both bourgeois democracy and statist-bureaucratic socialism".

Current discussions, political circles stress, have two objectives -- the further strengthening of the democratic influence of self-management society and public opinion on the press and the consolidation of the positive influence of the press on the fastest (?and) most dynamic development of democratic self-management relations. With a view to encouraging this orientation and future discussion on the social role of the press, editorial boards themselves and their social councils have (?been) called upon to consider these questions within the analyses of their editorial policies.

Slovene LC Commission

LD240928 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Feb (TANJUG) -- At the initiative of the judiciary, the Commission for Agitation and Propaganda of the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee Presidium today held a session chaired by Franc Setinc, at which it considered topical questions concerning the reporting and commentary on negative phenomena in society and on the work of the organs of the judiciary.

The commission had considered the same questions 4 years ago, when it adopted guidelines according to which it was necessary to continue to cultivate citizens' security awareness to promote self-protection activities and to maintain the norms of self-managing socialist ethics, as well as to pay more heed in public information media to the constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens. At today's session, which was also attended by Francka Strmole-Hlastek, president of the Supreme Court of Slovenia, and Bojan Strk, republican public prosecutor, it was noted that serious steps had been taken in Slovenia toward keeping the public better informed about the work of the organs of the judiciary and that there was less and less evidence of sensationalism in reporting.

However, it was also noted that a number of newspapers and magazines were nevertheless still publishing articles and reports which were not objective that failed to throw light on every aspect of all negative phenomena or violations of the law and of regulations by individuals or even went so far as to find individuals "guilty" before a court had pronounced its verdict, and so forth. At the session it was stressed that more attention should be paid to professionalism when writing reports of this kind and that journalists should avoid exaggerating the consequences of an event, accident or offense to create the impression of a major or sensational event, while failing to analyze the causes. Closer cooperation should be established in the future between journalists and editors and the organs of internal affairs, prosecution offices and the judiciary organs, so that on the basis of such cooperation journalists should be able to report objectively and at the right time on all negative phenomena, offenses and so forth.

The Commission for Agitation and Propaganda also adopted positions on ideo-political problems of the activity of TANJUG in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and in Yugoslavia, which had been extensively discussed at a session held by the commission in mid-January this year.



These positions emphasize the importance and role of TANJUG's editorial office for the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, especially with regard to its responsibility for ensuring, by means of quality reporting from Slovenia, the flow of information to the whole of the Yugoslav area with the aim of enabling the republics and provinces to keep one another better informed, to know more about one another and to be better able to reach accord. These positions further stress the very important cohesive role played by the TANJUG news agency as a whole in Yugoslavia, owing to which it is necessary to uphold all the efforts to socialize its programming policy and its entire information activity. It is necessary to speed up the preparation and adoption of such documents as the law and the social agreement on TANJUG and thus accelerate the process of the further constitutional transformation of TANJUG.

These positions also emphasized, among other things, the need for the further development of TANJUG's editorial offices in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and for facilitating a strengthening of its cadre in order to create the necessary conditions for the creation of a power and politically and vocationally able editorial office capable of acting successfully as an integral part of the unified TANJUG agency. Social councils, both in Belgrade and in the republics and provinces, play a special role in the system of socialization. It is necessary to ensure organic links between all these councils and thus enable the councils in the republics and provinces to represent the delegate base for the social council of the TANJUG news agency. These positions also stress the need to increase the influence of the republic and provinces on TANJUG's cadre policy.

#### Belgrade City LC Session

LD250024 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Feb (TANJUG) -- The period since the last electoral conference of the League of Communists organization in Belgrade has been marked by significant results in all spheres of social development. This was the period of the continued development of the political system of self-management democracy and the further growth of production forces in our society. This, among other things, was emphasized at today's session of the Belgrade League of Communists City Conference organization in the introductory report by Ratko Butulija, secretary of the city committee, discussing the draft report on the work of the League of Communists city conference from 1978 to 1982.

It was emphasized that in the context of the democratization of self-management and sociopolitical life which took place after the 11th LCY Congress, many tendencies which are alien to the League of Communists and to self-management society have appeared. Under the guise of greater democratization, phenomena and ideas opposed to the very nature of self-management democracy came to the fore. It should not be forgotten, it was emphasized, that the very concept of self-management democracy contains the decisive role of the working class in our society and the equality of all nations and nationalities in our community.

As regards information activity, which has been discussed quite a lot in our society recently, it was noted that the information media have become an essential factor of the public nature of work in sociopolitical life and self-management practice. They make a clear contribution to mobilizing people to carry out economic stabilization and fight for the elimination of weaknesses in individual environments. However, parallel with this, it has happened that our development and the political system of self-management have been disputed from the standpoint of liberalism, nationalism and dogmatic interpretations. It is therefore essential that in further discussions a standardization of editorial policy criteria should be ensured in which one should proceed from the basic orientations of self-management social development.

At the session it was emphasized that liberalism is in no way a general characteristic of the information media, but that liberalism can be spoken of, and quite seriously, in connection with some articles in individual entertainment, youth and other organs.

The need for clear differentiation in relation to such tendencies, which objectively limit room for the affirmation of socialist orientations and values, was emphasized. In this connection, discussions have already begun in the youth organization around the ideological orientation of the student newspapers.

But there were immediate attempts to hinder this discussion by labelling it as Stalinist. However, only by means of real democratic dialogue on the essence of the problems raised can one overcome the initial weaknesses of this discussion, as was said at today's session of the Belgrade League of Communists City Conference organization.

Croatian LC Commission

AU241252 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 82 p 6

[S. Ostojic report]

[Excerpts] The basic political line of the League of Communists has not been questioned in the public media of the republic and there have been no serious failures but this, naturally, does not mean that there have been no errors and omissions, Branko Puharic, president of the Commission for Information and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, has said at a session of this body. All other speakers agreed with his statement. One of the reason for yesterday's talk was the summary of the discussion at the LCY Central Committee session on 15 December last year on certain current problems of public information.

Marinko Gruic opposed a black and white view of the entertainment periodicals (which he calls "information-periodical" press) and in considering them advocated a differentiated approach for every individual case. He said that the contents of START, FOKUS and some other periodicals of this kind had been analyzed, or rather certain articles which were criticized.

The speaker pointed to the alarming flood of uncritical writing about Krleza [a recently deceased Croat writer] and in this connection stressed the attempts at abusing Krleza's name and work immediately after the great writer's death. Allegedly defending Krleza, certain people are now in fact attacking the party by insisting on the thesis about the dogmatic nature of the communist party before the war. These are transparent games, Gruic said, who also referred to the "launching" of "Tren 2." In 1948, it was for us a question of "to be or not be." And those who work to betray their country and socialism, those must count on the fact that this society will react resolutely without mercy. There can be no rehabilitation for traitors, he said.

He also cited some examples of Croat and Serb nationalism. As regards Croat nationalism, and especially some of its "leading lights," essentially imaginary great men, these people have reached the limits of a pathological nationalist madness, expressing all the wickedness and bestiality. As soon as one stirs up these imaginary great people, Gruic said, they shower you with letters, warnings, and even open threats. In doing this, they do not shrink from signing their names and surnames. There are also some Serb nationalists who are no less militant, who speak much about and raise the question of some kind of autonomy for Serbs in Croatia, Marinko Gruic said.

NEW WEEKLY MAGAZINE PUBLISHED BY VJESNIK

LD241148 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1101 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Feb (TANJUG) -- A new Yugoslav news magazine, DANAS (TODAY), published by the Vjesnik Newspaper and Publishing House of Zagreb, this week begins competition with the leading Yugoslav weekly, Belgrade's news magazine NIN, for the favour of Yugoslav readers.

The new magazine started with over 100,000 copies while the POLITIKA newspaper and publishing house each Friday offers its readers 170,000 copies of NIN. DANAS sells at the price of 30 dinars (around 75 U.S. cents, and NIN at the price of 20 dinars (half a dollar). Both reviews seek to give an analytical committed and cosmopolitan representation of the topics dealt with.

DANAS for example, does not hesitate to ask Janez Stanovnik, U.N. Economic Commission for Europe executive secretary, questions usually considered as sensitive. In its first issue, DANAS covers topics such as problems of the non-alignment and speculations about Chancellor Schmidt's and Deng Xiaoping's resignations. In the domain of internal policy, the new magazine subjects to severe scrutiny the causes of the high inflation in Yugoslavia and portrays a worker who has become a director and a central member.

Those well informed about the situation on the Yugoslav news market agree that the domestic press, with its critical and analytical [word indistinct] becoming increasingly [word indistinct] a proof being the steadily growing number of copies printed. It is considered that the only obstacle to the further expansion of circulation, especially where so-called informative-political papers are involved, is the shortage of newsprint due to inadequate domestic capacities and the shortage of foreign currency for import. However, the very fact that Vjesnik, with some 30 editions reaching a daily circulation of about 500,000 copies, has decided to start the DANAS news magazine, confirms that the press people do not lack confidence and that the shortage problem will be overcome and the expansion of the news market continued.

#### More on DANAS

AU231524 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1625 21 Feb 82 p 26

[Summary] The first issue of DANAS, a new political-informative weekly, will be published in Zagreb on 23 February. It will have 96 pages, 24 of which will be in color, and it will cost 30 dinars per copy. This first issue of this small-size weekly will be published in 100,000 copies. At first, it is expected that the weekly will make losses which will be covered by other newspapers published by the Vjesnik newspaper publishing organization. Present calculations indicate that in order to break even, the new weekly will have to sell 120,000 copies.

In conversation with Joza Vlahovic, chief editor of the new weekly, we have learned that the editorial staff will consist of 25 journalists, most of whom came from the Vjesnik Newspaper Publishing House, whom Vlahovic described as "a linkage of experience and youth." Vlahovic also said that at the moment it is difficult to say what the new weekly will really look like because life changes many plans, but that it will aim to go further than being a newsmagazine like NIN. Vlahovic said that we aim "primarily at registering all important currents, phenomena and directions of development. One of our rules should be: A newspaper need not give all the answers but it must raise all the questions."

#### VOJVODINA TRADE UNIONS WARN ON PRICE HIKES

AU242030 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] The Presidium of the Vojvodina Trade Unions has discussed the tasks of the trade unions and the implementation of the price policy this year and drawn attention to the renewed pressure of work organizations on prices. Vojvodina recently increased fresh meat prices by 16 percent, the prices of meat products and fish by 15 percent, and oil products went up in price a short time ago, too. As of 1 March, electricity charges will go up 20 percent, as decided by the Council of the Price Community of Serbia yesterday. All these are large items in the cost of living, and the standard of living is endangered. It is pointed out that the trade unions in Vojvodina cannot be indifferent to it, particularly since even the price increases there are no firm guarantees that the market will see more of the good concerned.

KOSOVO SAWP DISCUSSES ELECTIONS, 'ENEMY' ACTIONS

AU242119 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 82 p 6

[J. Radovanovic report]

[Text] Judging by the reports submitted by the presidents of the 22 communal conferences of SAWP of Kosovo at a conference in the provincial conference yesterday, the elections to branches and local conferences of this organization have been held in conformity with and according to the agreed criteria. This positive assessment particularly applies to the criterion that the right people be elected to SAWP organs: people who are proven fighters against the enemy and who are ready and able to implement the tasks in stabilizing the political situation and further developing socialist self-managing relations. The only criticism of the elections expressed yesterday concerned the insufficient number of women in the branches and local conferences.

Further work in preparing the elections of members of the delegations and delegates to sociopolitical chambers was also discussed at the conference yesterday. These elections, as it has been agreed, will be held on 21 March.

Azem Vlasi, president of the provincial conference, stated in the discussion that because of the complexity of the political moment, one must be particularly sensitive in the election preparations to any attempt by the enemy to infiltrate the ranks of the delegations and delegates.

It is the task of the SAWP to engage the largest possible number of tested and capable activists and cadres in election activities, particularly to explain the rights and obligations of young people who will go to the polls for the first time.

We must not permit young people to consider their going to the polls an obligation, but rather as a duty which in fact means that they enter political life.

This is particularly important at this moment when the enemy -- as shown by the incident after the first women's basketball league game in Pristina on Sunday evening [14 February] -- uses every opportunity to maintain a state of tension and to manifest his nationalist irredentist ideas. In these activities, Azem Vlasi said, the enemy is more and more inclined to manipulate young people and even children, for it has lost its support among the working people and citizens of Kosovo.

SERBIAN DEFENSE COUNCIL HOLDS SESSION 23 FEB

LD240454 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG) -- A session of the National Defense Council of the Serbian Presidency was held today, presided over by Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The council discussed certain issues of the organization and the functioning of communications in the sphere of all-people's defense, goods supplies, preparations for the production of civil defense resources and equipment and preparations by organizations of associated labor for carrying out civil defense tasks in the context of their regular activities. The council came to the conclusion that in the last 2 years there had been wider social activity in considering and addressing the issue of producing civil defense resources and equipment.

Proceeding from the orientation that organized production and supplies of civil defense resources and equipment need to be accompanied by the intensive development and training of organized civil defense forces in protection and rescue work, the council also set out proposed measures which should be adopted by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.